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Music and Letters

JANUARY 1955

Volume XXXVI

No. 1

MUSIC & LETTERS, gravely imperilled recently by the sudden death of its proprietor and last editor, Richard Capell, is to go on. Exactly how it is to continue is still a matter for negotiation, so that I cannot make any definite statement at the moment. I have assumed full responsibility for the present and resumed the honorary editorship, at any rate for the time being. But we have seen how unsafe it is for any one person to be in charge of a publication of this kind, and I hope that by the time the next issue appears it will be possible to make a full announcement of arrangements that will ensure MUSIC & LETTERS a long and prosperous future.

Meanwhile it is essential that the regular appearance of the journal should suffer no interruption, and I shall see to it that that does not happen. But I hope readers will do what they can to help. I should like to make a personal appeal to all present subscribers to continue and, if they possibly can, find us new patrons. The subscription is still £1 a year, post free.

The editorial address (for contributions, review copies, &c.) now is 10 Alma Terrace, Allen Street, London, W. 8; the business address (for subscriptions, back numbers, advertisements, &c.) 44 Conduit Street, London, W. 1; and advertising orders will also be accepted by Mr. G. Hopkins, 53 Radcliffe Road, London, N. 21.

1 January 1955.

ERIC BLOM.

CAVAZZONI AND CABEZÓN

BY THURSTON DART

MARCO ANTONIO DA BOLOGNA and Antonio de Cabezón have long been recognized as two of the leading organist-composers of their time, but no scholar seems yet to have investigated the fascinating possibility that they may well have been members of the same family of musicians.

Biographical discussions of Marco Antonio are included in Jeppesen's valuable *'Die italienische Orgelmusik am Anfang des Cinquecento'* (Copenhagen, 1943), which includes a complete reprint of Marco Antonio's *'Recerchari motetti canzoni . . . libro primo'*, first published at Venice in 1523; and in Benvenuti's edition of the same collection of organ music, published as part of Vol. I of the series *'I classici musicali italiani'* (Milan, 1941). The only known copies of the very rare original edition are in the British Museum and the Newberry Library, Chicago. For Cabezón we have the biographical notice found in Pedrell's edition of his *'Obras'*; the rich documentation of music at the Spanish court that forms the indispensable first section of Anglès's transcription of Venegas's *'Libro de cifra nueva'* (Alcalá, 1557), published as Vol. II of the series *'Monumentos de la música española'* (Barcelona, 1944); and some studies by Kastner.

To begin with Marco Antonio: neither Jeppesen nor Benvenuti gives an entirely satisfactory account of his life, though each adduces some new material. An attempt must be made to reconcile and supplement their remarks in order to establish the essential point of interest—the history of Marco Antonio's surname. During his lifetime the organist was usually called either "Marco Antonio da Bologna" or "Marco Antonio"; it is commonly supposed that he came from Bologna, and that he was born there in about 1490. In two letters written by Eleonora (Gonzaga) d'Urbino in 1512, she referred to him simply as "Marco Antonio". In his *'Viridario'* (Bologna, 1513) in praise of famous inhabitants of the city, the Bolognese poet Gioanne Philoteo Achillino singled out five organists (Rugiero, Cesare, Hannibal, Ludovico, "el Bolognino"); the last of these may be identified with Marco Antonio, who would at that time have probably been in his early twenties. In 1517 the famous musical theorist of Bologna, Giovanni Spataro, wrote a letter to "Marco Antonio Cavazono" in Venice. The collection of organ music of 1523 is by "Marco Antonio da Bologna"; it is dedicated

to Francesco Cornaro. At some time before Spataro's death (1541), probably during the 1510s, Marco Antonio composed a Mass based upon a synthetic theme created from the solmization syllables corresponding to the vowels in his own name. This Mass, called 'Domini Marci Antonii', is Jeppesen's discovery, and he has proposed two possible alternatives for the original Latin phrase from which the *canto fermo* was derived: "Domini Marci Antonii Cavazzoni" and "Dominus Marcus Antonius Cavezzonus". In deciding that the first of these is the more likely, however, he has apparently failed to take two matters sufficiently into account: first, that such *soggetti cavati* were commonly founded upon a Latin phrase in the nominative case (cf. Josquin's Mass 'Hercules Dux Ferrarie'); and secondly, that the laws of solmization prohibit the first of his alternatives altogether. So that while we cannot be certain of the consonants in the Latinized form of Marco Antonio's name, we can at least be certain of the vowels; at the time he composed what may be called his "musical autograph", he chose to spell his surname in Latin as "Cavez(z)onus". In 1532 a "M. Marco" was organist of San Stefano, Venice, but we have at present no way of showing that he was Marco Antonio da Bologna. In 1536-37 "Marcho Antonio da Urbin" was organist of the cathedral of Chioggia; in 1542 "Girolamo Cavazzoni da Bologna", the young son of "Marco Antonio da Bologna, detto d'Urbino", proudly dedicated his first publication—a book of organ music—to Cardinal Bembo. For this and other reasons we may safely conclude that the organist of Chioggia was the Marco Antonio we are at present concerned with. In 1545 the theorist Pietro Aron wrote of him as "Marc' Antonio del doge da Vinegia"; in Doni's catalogue of books (1550) he is called simply "Anton da Bologna"; and in 1552 and 1558, when he is named as one of Willaert's executors, he signed himself "Marc' Antonio Cavazon".

From this chronological list of information one or two points emerge fairly clearly. First, Marco Antonio during his lifetime was very rarely referred to by his surname; when he was, the name never had two z's, and it was never spelt in what would have been the proper Italian form—"Cavazzoni". Secondly, a firm line of development seems to be discernible in the spelling itself: it moves from the early "musical autograph" of "Cavezon(us)" (which obviously carries great weight), through "Cavazon" (first used by Spataro as early as 1517, in its italianate form of "Cavazono", but first used by Marco Antonio only in 1552) to his son's preferred form of "Cavazzoni". Philologically speaking, such a line of development can have only one direction—from the "Spanish" spelling

towards the "Italian" one, from "Cavezón" to "Cavazzoni" and not *vice versa*. Marco Antonio, in fact, must have been of Spanish descent.

Kastner has established that Antonio de Cabezón was born on 30 March 1500 in a village called Castrillo de Matajudíos, in the district of Castrojeriz, in the province of Burgos. In 1526 his name makes its first appearance in the records of the Spanish court; the ninth of the ten singers then forming the choir of the Empress Isabella's Chapel Royal is Antonio Caveçon. In a later list of the same year he appears as "Antonio de Cabeçon, organista" and thereafter the archives continue to record his name in this form save for one fleeting appearance (late in 1539) as Antonio de Cavecón. But Antonio's son, Hernando, refers to his father in his will as Antonio de Cavecón. The tone of the will is rather vainglorious and very full of family pride, so that the return to the earlier spelling of the family name acquires a certain special significance in this context. Three points of orthography are important: first, "ç" and "z" are equivalent consonants in the Simancas documents from which most of these details are taken. The choirboys, for instance, are referred to as *moços* where another scribe would have used the normal Spanish spelling of *mazos*. Both letters are the Spanish equivalent of the Italian "z", though its sound in Spanish differed from its sound in Italian. Secondly, in Spanish the difference in sound between the consonants "b" and "v" is quite imperceptible, save in certain very localized dialects; and foreigners often use a different spelling when translating, for instance, Spanish place-names—"Cordoba" is English "Cordova". Thirdly, the accent of the last vowel of Cabezón's name ensures an anapaestic pronunciation that exactly corresponds with the stressing of the Italian form of the family name adopted by Marco Antonio's son Girolamo—"Cavazzoni". The introduction of the prefix "de" into Cabezón's surname is in itself worthy of comment: in Spain as in Italy this usage showed that the following word denoted either a place or a patronymic or a nickname, and in both countries it often held certain undertones of snobbishness. An unadorned surname had been good enough for Antonio's father and, to begin with, good enough for his son as well; but once Antonio moved into polite society the "de" was introduced, and once introduced it was never discarded.

In their early years, then, both Antonio de Cabezón and Marco Antonio da Bologna would seem to have used identical forms of their surname "Cavezón". Their descendants chose finally to adopt the divergent spellings that these surnames acquired during

the lifetimes of their parents—"de Cabezón" and "Cavazzoni"—so that the identity of the original forms became completely obscured. This curious point could perhaps be dismissed as a mere coincidence were it not for certain other curiosities about the families and their histories. Thus, on the fringes of the lives of both men appear other figures bearing the same or similar surnames. To begin with, there is the priest, "Estebán Martín de Cabezón" of Burgos, dean of Palencia and vicar-general of the diocese from 1520 onwards during the absence of his bishop at the court of Charles V; as Kastner has observed, this appears to throw light on Zapata's remark that Cabezón "lived with a bishop of Palencia" before he entered the royal service. Then in Venice (May 1533) we learn from Sanuto's diaries of a certain "Zuanbattista Cavazon", a civil engineer. And in 1558, soon after the return of Antonio de Cabezón and two other members of his family from England in the train of Philip II, a certain public administrator of Valladolid called Simon de Cabeçon confirmed a state document (now in the Public Record Office) bearing upon the Spanish-English royal marriage.

There are also some geographical curiosities. In 1521, when Cabezón was still a youngster, the Royal Council of the kingdom of Castile was meeting at Castrojeriz, only a few miles from his home. Cabezón itself is a small town between Valladolid and Dueñas; and Marco Antonio's patron, Francesco Cornaro, was Venetian ambassador to the court of Charles V at Valladolid between 1517 and 1521. Benvenuti avers that Marco Antonio was a member of the private music of Pope Leo X (Medici) as early as 1515, and he was certainly a member of it from August 1520 until (in all probability) December 1521. Now the Spaniards Juan del Encina and Andrés da Silva were also among the members of this small and highly select body of musicians; there were two chamber organs (at least) available for Marco Antonio to use in the private music, and one of these had been presented to the Pope by the Cardinal of Aragon early in 1518, while the other, a very renowned instrument made of alabaster, had been constructed at the Pope's orders by a craftsman of Naples—then part of the Spanish dominions—arriving at Rome in July 1521. Even at Urbino, Marco Antonio and Spain met once again; for one of the most splendid possessions of the music-loving dukes was a chamber organ built for Urbino in about 1475 by the famous Juan Castelano of Naples, and the organ builder's name clearly betrays his Spanish origin. The Spaniard Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareja, one of the most renowned musical theorists of his time, had worked at Salamanca, Bologna and Rome, and Marco Antonio's friend Giovanni Spataro was one of his most ardent disciples.

Lastly, the genealogical curiosities. The two men, Antonio de Cabezón and Marco Antonio da Bologna, had similar Christian names. Cabezón had a daughter called Jeronima, Marco Antonio a son called Girolamo; the two names are essentially the same, both being forms of Hieronymus. Cabezón was one of a family of four brothers: Antonio himself, Diego, Juan and a mysterious fourth brother about whom nothing seems to be known, not even his Christian name. Antonio and, later, Juan became royal musicians; Diego stayed at home to look after the family estates, working not only his own share of the land but also the shares of his two brothers, Antonio and Juan (the leases of the land survive). But there is no mention of the other brother's share, a singular fact that in Spain could then be accounted for in one of only two ways: either the brother was dead, or else he had left not only his home but also his country at a very early age. Did his exceptional musical talent attract attention while he was a boy, and had he been sent to Italy to become the pupil, perhaps, of the greatest living teacher and theorist among his countrymen, Ramos de Pareja? Pope Julius II captured Bologna in 1506 and remained in possession of the city for some years (though not without opposition). He was again there in 1511, at which time Bembo was at Urbino, at the court of Julius's nephew and commander-in-chief, the Duke of Urbino. Before then Bembo had been in the entourage of Caterina Cornaro, ex-queen of Cyprus, and centre of a brilliant circle of artists and connoisseurs at her estate of Asolo; and in 1513 he was Pope Leo X's private secretary. Caterina herself was the aunt of Francesco Cornaro and his younger brother, Cardinal Cornaro; both men were extremely rich, both wielded great power at Venice and in the immensely complicated political and social scene of northern Italy at this time, both were patrons of the arts and both were members of the papal conclaves that elected Leo X in 1513 and Leo's successor in 1521. Eleonora Gonzaga's letters of 1512 show that at that early date the reputation of the young Marco Antonio was already great enough to have reached the ears of her father and brother at Mantua and Ferrara; and throughout Marco Antonio's life run the threads of men like Bembo, Leo X and the Cornaro brothers, and the hints of things Spanish—his companions, his name, the instruments he played, the duties of his patron Cornaro, his long and intimate friendship with Ramos's pupil Spataro. Did Cabezón's third brother go to Bologna as a young boy? And were his Christian names Marco Antonio?

'THE MAGIC FLUTE' AND CALDERÓN

By ANN LAPRAIK LIVERMORE

It is a curious fact that the original sources of the last works of two great men, Mozart's 'Magic Flute' and Shakespeare's 'Tempest', have remained enigmas to the countless writers who have puzzled over them, in spite of the evidence of some earlier structure underlying both.

In 1950 I was invited to present my theory on the source of 'The Tempest' at the first Luso-Brazilian Colloquium held at Washington by the Library of Congress. My theory, based on a direct study of the use of music in the early Portuguese theatre, and the striking parallel uses of music in Gil Vicente's 'Triumph of Winter' and 'The Tempest', has since been printed twice and translated. It has had a kind reception.

But the year before this discovery, in 1943, I had been making a similar survey of the use of music by Spanish dramatists of the Golden Age, and my essay on this theme was published in *MUSIC & LETTERS* in July 1944. I was not concerned with the elementary approach of counting songs and musical interludes or even with the style and kind of these, but trying to find what music as an art meant to the minds of those brilliant dramatists in Spain. This approach produced some novel results. As I was to find a parallel in the use of music by Shakespeare in his 'Tempest' with that of Vicente in his 'Triumph of Winter', written nearly a hundred years earlier, and found on further examination, both historical and literary, that this was probably more than accidental, so in Calderón's 'El purgatorio de San Patricio' ('The Purgatory of Saint Patrick') I found evidence almost as surprising of likenesses to the libretto of Mozart's 'Magic Flute'.

War-time difficulties, scarcity of paper and the consequent restricted circulation and presentation of such an important theme, of interest to the musical world everywhere, made it prudent to establish the first clues in that essay but to leave fuller exposition to happier times when the attention of Mozart lovers in other countries could be freely drawn to this entirely new aspect. Perhaps I had probably said enough on the matter for the time being, but I could have pointed out the relevance to my theory of the fact that Gieseke had been in Ireland and of his connections with Spain, and added that I would much like to know whether Michael

Kelly, the Irish singer, ever spoke to his friend Mozart about Saint Patrick in Ireland. I also said that, above all these points of literary detection, it seemed to me that the supreme interest lay in the fact that at last we could be satisfied with the thought that a worthy inspiration for the sublime music Mozart poured out in this work was indeed discoverable.

My statement was as follows¹:

Commentators have not been slow to see in the 'Jardin de Falerina' a forecast of Kundry's magic gardens. Wagner's admiration for Calderón is well known. But what has escaped notice is a curious resemblance between scenes of 'El Purgatorio de San Patricio' and Mozart's 'Magic Flute'. Ludovico is braced again to face the ordeal he has already vowed to undergo by the sound of music within.

Here followed my quotation, with translation, of the parallel to the scene where Tamino prepares to undergo a similar ordeal by fire and water. I then continued with the parallel of Papageno to the "*gracioso* Paulin" who "behaves much as Papageno in a similar plight. These mysterious sights and sounds unnerve him; he wishes only to get back to the ordinary ways of living and to his humdrum hamlet". Quotation and translation of Calderón's text followed.

Thus was set out for the first time the crucial likeness of the pivotal scene common to the Spanish religious drama and Mozart's last opera. Calderón's use of music to enhance the mystical effects of his dramas is dealt with in the preceding part of the essay. His use of music to express and summon up occult and subconscious regions of experience in relation to religious feeling is pointed out and examples are briefly quoted.

Goethe was strongly aware of mysterious stirrings of greatness in the oddly mixed ingredients of the 'Magic Flute' libretto; so much so, indeed, that he devoted some time to the conception of a further work, which he intended as a sequel, the outcome of the opera's impact upon his own creative sensibility.² The process of æsthetic generation is not a rational one, but it has recognizable ways of its own, notably the manner in which one genius will catch the spark of fire as it flashes from the work of another and, with this, kindles his own. I believe that perhaps here again we have proof of Goethe's deep sagacity of intuition and that he felt the creative force which rises up through the superstructure imposed by Schikaneder and Gieseke and has its roots in the deep soil of

¹ See MUSIC & LETTERS, Vol. XXV, p. 147.

² A translation of Goethe's fragment had appeared in MUSIC & LETTERS, Vol. XXIII, July 1942.

Calderón's conception of life, which in its own way has a grandeur comparable with Goethe's.

Mozart's younger contemporary, Schlegel, brought a closer understanding of Calderón's dramas to the composer's generation. His remarks on the significance of the trilogy in art since the time of Aeschylus should be kept in mind when we see that, supposing Gieseke had approached Schikaneder with a libretto based on Calderón's Irish subject, we could then suggest that Schikaneder and Mozart saw a peculiar fitness in a trilogy of operas based on Spanish sources. Mozart had already written two outstanding operas on Spanish themes: 'Figaro' and 'Don Giovanni'. Nothing succeeds like success, particularly in the theatre, as Schikaneder knew and other producers have always known. Writers for the theatre are usually omnivorous if haphazard feeders on other theatrical meat, since, though they know the need to repeat previous success, they must achieve it by novelty of stage effects and variations on earlier themes. The purgatorial theme was of Spanish origin, yet it differed from the other two and would therefore draw up a different response from the composer. By all accounts Schikaneder was a shrewd fellow who knew how to play on Mozart's sensibilities and was aware of that deep resource of psychological differentiation of character which made him a master of the stage in his music-making.

Before I set out the likenesses between the play and the opera I must point out that a much greater importance attaches to this theory than a mere lively inquiry into influences and derivation. The trilogy, as Schlegel asserts, has been associated since the dramas of the Greeks with the struggles of human destiny, of man with his fate. This threefold structure underlies the apparent form of many masterpieces as conceived by artists of every kind. That a sense of structure was the primary and unfailing strength of Mozart's music is undisputed. It was perhaps this sense of structure that produced the unerring exactness of finite mood and style in which his greatest operas were created, and out of this his characterization developed as sculpture upon the edifice with an identification of form such as only the greatest architects, and those rarely, achieve. By his flawless crystallization of spontaneity he raised music to that classic status of equality with the older art which we have all taken for granted since his time.

As a Spanish trilogy, then, what may Mozart, in that state of semi-conscious patterning peculiar to the musician's way of thinking, have eventually shaped out of his own experience of life? We must bear in mind, also, that he had the Germanic mentality and outlook upon reality and abstractions.

'The Marriage of Figaro' first. Here is the opera of the untouched bloom of youth; Cherubino, who has not yet eaten of the tree of knowledge, to whom reality is still the gay sound of a distant drum and the petting in a countess's boudoir, is a mirror in which the young Mozart sees the reflection of his own extraordinary childhood.

'Don Giovanni' next. Here is the zenith of human vitality, boundless in its contempt for the artificial moral law which sets limits to natural zest and appetite, a defiance which leads to the inevitable finale of courage rising to heroism before the real threat of hell and damnation, and which indeed ends as a re-affirmation of the rights and vigour of eighteenth-century man, as Rousseau's fermentative instincts developed in social thought not only through Europe but even to far-away Chile and Peru.³ The influence, by the by, of the semi-mythological stage and operatic heroes and heroines of that century on the preparation of the way for the grand figures and conceptions of the romantic age has as yet been insufficiently assessed.

Thirdly, and lastly, this 'Magic Flute', hymning the growing claims of a spiritual nature arising in man, not in fear, be it noted, but by the self's recognition of the problems of guilt, conscience, the need for expiation and of dedication, purpose and vows of faith in ultimate deliverance that the conviction of a spiritual life inevitably presupposes.

An ascending spiral of experience seems thus to rise up and to link these three operas together. There is even perhaps a point of definite contact between the last two operas in the culminating scene of Don Juan's disappearance into hell and the scene at the end of Act II of 'St. Patrick's Purgatory' where Egerio, King of Ireland, daring to confront the fires of Purgatory and mocking his frightened companions and accepting this challenge of the unknown underworld, is swallowed up amid great subterranean noise, rising flames and the cries of many voices within. It is in fact from this point, with Act II, from which my original quotation was drawn, that the libretto of 'The Magic Flute' seems to follow Calderón.

To-day we have no recollection of the fame and wonder accorded to St. Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland, the supernatural wonders attributed to the spot and the practices of pilgrims there. But Gieseke could not have been unaware of its uniqueness. Even had he been the most rational sceptic of his time, his work as a professor

³ See Mozart's connection, in fact, with Rousseau's opera in his early 'Bastien und Bastienne'. The influence of Rousseau on Mozart's mind is another fascinating subject yet to be fully explored.

of natural history in Ireland would have roused his interest in the phenomena of the cave. I do not know, however, whether as a writer for the theatre he ever read the famous Dodsley 'Collection of Old Plays' (first edition, 1744, second edition, 1780, third edition, 1825). It is quite unnecessary in our search for points of contact to suppose that he did, though the possibility is not to be ruled out of court. But for our own reminding, and because it is proof of the importance of St. Patrick's Purgatory to the eighteenth century, and comes directly out of the world of the stage and old plays with which we are immediately concerned, I give here the note which is to be found in Dodsley, note 27 to 'The Four P's' by John Heywood. . . . "And streyght to saynt Patryke's purgatory. . . .":

This place, which was much frequented by pilgrims, was situate on a lake called Lough Derg, in the Southern part of the county of Donegall, near the borders of Tyrone and Fermanagh. It was surrounded with wild and barren mountains, and was almost inaccessible by horsemen even in summer time, on account of great bogs, rocks and precipices, which environed it. The popular tradition concerning it is as ridiculous as is to be found in any Legend of the Romish Martyrology. After continuing in great credit many years, it began to decline; and in the 13th of Henry the Seventh was demolished with great solemnity, on St. Patrick's-day, by the Pope's express order. It, however, afterwards came into reputation again, insomuch that, by an order of the Privy Council, dated 13th of September, 1632, it was a second time destroyed. From this period, as pilgrimages grew less in fashion, it will appear extraordinary that the place should be a third time restored to its original state, and as much visited as in any former period. In this condition it continued until the second year of Queen Anne, when an act of the Irish Parliament declared, that all meetings and assemblies there should be adjudged riots and unlawful assemblies, and inflicted a penalty upon every person meeting or assembling contrary to the Statute. The ceremonies to be performed by the pilgrims are very exactly set forth in Richardson's 'Great Folly, Superstition, and Idolatry, of Pilgrimages in Ireland, especially of that to St. Patrick's Purgatory' (Dublin, 8vo, 1727).

Enough hath been already said on the subject of Saint Patrick's Purgatory, I shall therefore only add, that it is often mentioned in Froissard's Chronicle, and that Sir James Melvil who visited it in 1545, describes it as looking "like an old coal-pit, which had taken fire, by reason of the smoke that came out of the hole. . . ."

Dodsley, however, goes on to quote from Erasmus's 'Praise of Folie' (1549) also.⁴

⁴ This note to a play by Heywood and the mention of Erasmus's acquaintance with St. Patrick's Purgatory is curious, but in another connection, for in my study of Gil Vicente and Shakespeare I had to mention Heywood's plays as having been familiar to the Protestant and Catholic world in the Low Countries, and quoted Erasmus as a not unlikely link between the world of English drama and the Spanish and Portuguese.

Though Schikaneder sought to mystify his associates about the origins of his libretto, perhaps because he was in fact deeply indebted to Calderón for his most extraordinary effects, he left some very concrete clues embedded in the final text. They are plain to see. No tale about St. Patrick could be regarded as complete without the snake of the legend, any more than St. George could be shown without the dragon beneath his feet. Production of the opera, however, has always so insisted on the naturalism of the monster serpent in the opening scene that its religious symbolism of the darkness of Ireland before the coming of Christianity has become obscured. It may be difficult for those who base the shape of their most stubborn convictions on visual experience to clear out of their memories the recollections of stage performances of 'The Magic Flute', but it is necessary to do so and to look upon the work from this original structural conception and as a symbolic drama. It should be noted, then, that Tamino is pursued by the serpent near the haunts of the Queen of Night, or Darkness, as we might more perceptively call her; and that Calderón's text mentions these "wild monster snakes" more than once, as of course he was bound to do.

The symbol about which both the drama and the opera turn is, however, the shield of the sun. The Queen of Night tells Pamina that with the loss of the sevenfold shield of the sun to Sarastro her power has passed from her, and that her survival depends on its recovery. Her antithesis to Sarastro, as the true custodian of the light-giving sun shield, as darkness opposed to light, evil to good, becomes more sharply defined when we turn to Calderón's list of characters. He includes a Good Angel and an Evil Angel; and it is precisely the Good Angel who gives Patrick the sun shield to protect him on his purgatorial way, and with this same emphasis on its life-giving light and power. We can, therefore, more keenly appreciate the music Mozart wrote for the unnaturally high acrobatics of the Queen of Night, if we allow that he might have been giving voice to the malevolence of an Evil Angel.

Another clue is the statement in the recitative that the stranger (Tamino) without "stands at our *northern* gate". The location of Ireland standing at the northern gate of Europe as on the northern periphery of Christianity is interesting.

Another "prop", and one common to old Spanish plays, is the chime of bells, given to the clown or *gracioso*. We find it in the earliest of dramatists who wrote in Spanish, Gil Vicente, for instance. In the scene from which I quoted extracts in my first essay my reference makes plain that Papageno was the Mozartian parallel to

Calderón's Paulin, who in that third act, where he is compelled to go with Ludovico on his quest, he is described in the stage direction as dressed as a *soldado ridículo*. I have discussed this matter of the stage clown in Spain in an essay on Vicente and his successors.

The *dos canonigos reglares* are another parallel, this time to Mozart's two Priests, whose acolytes in Ludovico's description of the twelve brethren clad in white who received him in his quest and whose charge it is to give "largo discurso de avisos singulares, de misas, confesiones, de ceremonias y otras prevenciones que debe hacer primero quien padecer quisiere en vida" are familiar to us through Mozart's music. They guard the entrance to Purgatory where Patrick has power to give absolution and salvation when, fortified by good counsels of divine reason, the seeker has passed through those ordeals by fire and water. The latter part of this final scene of the play is Ludovico's accounts of those ordeals and the appearance of the Grand Patriarch—Calderón's words are Gran Patriarca—who felicitates him at the end on his courage and constancy of purpose and gives him the final blessing exactly as we find in the last scene of 'The Magic Flute'. It required only a few words to twist this Spanish orthodoxy into a semblance of Masonic abracadabra.

Pamina's parallel is less direct, but in some ways more interesting, when we trace the physical experience as acted by Polonia in Calderón's play and its transmutation into the spiritual utterance in Mozart's poignant airs for Pamina. Polonia has been previously "wronged" by Ludovico, and he finds her dwelling as a penitent near to St. Patrick's sanctuary as he himself is about to enter, a penitent also. She has previously died as a result of her sufferings—compare this with the mad scene in the opera—and Patrick with his power to give life and spiritual illumination has restored her and taken her under his protection to dwell near the precincts of the temple which guards the entrance into Purgatory. In this wild region, though penitent, she is still a prey to evil forces, as is Pamina. Earlier in the play Polonia had been pursued by Ludovico with a dagger and killed. The mad scene in the opera is obviously a condensed version of Polonia's various distracted appearances, and her thoughts of vengeance prompted by her sufferings find the parallel in the scene where the Queen of Darkness gives Pamina a dagger with which to kill Sarastro.

The spiritual union of Tamino and Pamina runs parallel with the reunion of the penitent Polonia and Ludovico at their meeting before Patrick's Purgatory, and the underlying profundity of their meeting with its significance of expiation finds its true and just

expression in Mozart's music. Tamino's entrance dressed as a Japanese, or Javanese—one of the unsolved perplexities in the opera—could perhaps be traced, by the way, to the fact that when Ludovico carries off Polonia she brings away her jewels so that they can travel to the *farthest Inds.* Ludovico's return is expressly made after long travels in many parts of the world, and it is conceivable that his dress would be symbolically outlandish to mark a traveller returned from far-away places.

We have seen that the precise number of *two* Priests in 'The Magic Flute' is equalled by the precise enumeration of *two canonigos reglares* in the Spanish drama. But yet another mystery, which no explanation has ever satisfactorily cleared up, is the appearance in the last act of the opera of two Armed Men who have a magnificent and entirely irrelevant scene. Now, in the play the text specifically refers to armed men, *hombres armados*, in the very first scene of the play. These are corsairs, one of whom, Filipo de Roqui, is chief, or general, and in fact much of the Spanish plot turns on this point. The appearance of the two Armed Men in the second finale of the opera occurs in the same place where the ex-corsair Filipo reappears in the last part of the play. Thus, not only the deepest roots and truth of the opera are grounded in this Spanish mystery drama, but also some of its peculiar anomalies, which have puzzled every generation since Mozart wrote this work, and died. The characters are identical, the plot is tenaciously followed, its religious significance most faithfully adhered to. We may credit Gieseke with having had the good sense to leave his splendid original as nearly untouched as his conscience allowed. It seems, at last, that we may agree that he did, indeed, have cause to accuse Schikaneder of theft. How much of this intrigue was known to Mozart when he wrote the music?⁵

Much has been written about the state of abnormal excitement in which Mozart wrote the Requiem. His preoccupation with Calderón's mystery drama of sin and penitence, purgatory and its horrible torments for the damned before redemption is possible would suffice to bring on such an excited condition in the state of exhausted health he had reached. Ludovico's crimes, so curiously like those of Don Juan, even to the killing of one mistress's father and a pact with the saintly man to meet again either in this world or the next, were abnormal; his problem of expiation, however, was real enough to Mozart's world.

⁵It is tempting to interpret the prank he played on Schikaneder on the night when the composer played the Glockenspiel behind the scene for the producer's performance of Papageno and cunningly mistimed his playing so as to leave Schikaneder exposed as a fraud before the public as being one of Mozart's merriest strokes of genius.

But beyond Mozart's own reaction to this brooding atmosphere of Calderón's creation, there lies for us the aspect of the changed æsthetic attitude. Calderón's world was that of the baroque. His assertions of dogma are dramatically conveyed, but they admit no unorthodoxy or deviation, and his harsh though brilliant trumpetings of the truth he preached show the Spanish character of that century to the full. Mozart, on the other hand, flutes the tender indulgences of *caritas*, that essential spirit of the rococo which is most purely found in eighteenth-century Austrian art. It is perhaps the point nearest to the earth of human frailty that the spiritual ever dared to stoop to and not soil the life-saving dust upon its fragile wing.

I began this essay by linking Mozart with Spain and Shakespeare with Portugal. I now conclude by linking Mozart directly with Portugal. Those who have read my translation of the Letters of Antonio da Costa⁶ will remember that I pointed out that as a boy Mozart played in the house of the Prince of the Royal Portuguese House of Braganza in Vienna and that this Prince, like many others of that family, was a discriminating as well as a generous patron of the arts, especially music. My essay on 'Queen Mariana Vitoria and the Development of Opera in Portugal'⁷ shows, once again, how this Portuguese royal family sent copies of musical scores backwards and forwards to one another and that there were many ancient as well as contemporary links of this kind between Vienna and Lisbon.⁸

We do not know where Mozart's awareness of Spain first stirred, but we do know that he played in this Portuguese noble house. It is quite reasonable to suppose that there, this child, who, as we know, read eagerly every score he could lay hands on, saw manuscripts in possession of this royal musician, who was a friend to Gluck also.

When João de Sousa Carvalho was first labelled as the Mozart of Portugal I have not been able to establish; it is, however, a long-accredited tradition, and, like all vague but persistent traditions, worth careful scrutiny. Unfortunately, it has brought about a distortion of the significant fact that he produced the first opera which established his fame, 'O amor indústrioso', in 1769, when Mozart was still a child. To those who know Sousa Carvalho's work only through the few keyboard pieces so far published, suggestions that he may have influenced the formation of Mozart's operatic style may seem exaggerated. To those of us who have had the joy of reading his operatic scores in Portugal and in the Library of

⁶ *MUSIC & LETTERS*, Vol. XXVI, p. 162.

⁷ 'Atlante', October 1953.

⁸ See also my chapters on Portuguese and Brazilian music in 'Portugal and Brazil' (Oxford University Press, 1953).

Congress, Washington—where till I read them in 1950 they seemed to have been totally neglected—and also the privilege of publicly performing various scenes, the claim is not immodest, but reasonably possible.

The aria from 'O amor industrioso', "A linda noivinha", is equal in pathetic evocation to anything written later by Mozart; in style it breathes an identical modulatory form of sensibility. The haunting aria with recitative, "Quel jubilo improvviso!" in 'Penelope', with its exquisite dewiness of happy dawn after the terrors of the night, should be compared with no less a work than 'Cosi fan tutte'.

Perhaps as early as this Mozart's attention was turned towards the music of the Peninsula. He had a point of genius in common with Sousa Carvalho: the combination of the extremes of realism and the ideal. Portuguese art and literature have always had to face the problem of harmonizing these acute extremes before works of true native genius could be achieved, as is shown by such rare instances as Gil Vicente, the dramatist who surpassed all contemporaries in Spain; Camões, whose epic transcended all Spanish efforts in that form; and, as musicians should begin to realize, João de Sousa Carvalho, who outshone in lustre and brilliance every composer in Spain of whose music we have any knowledge in his century. Like the native dramatist and the poet, he drew together those opposing qualities which are so often at war in the Portuguese nature. It is, after all, through the reconciliation of the greatest extremes that the greatest works of art are produced, and herein is their miracle and our fulfilment.

A study of this possible point of contact is long, long overdue. It could begin, I suggest, with a common meeting-ground, incontestable as it is orthodox: Paisiello's studio at Naples.

REALISM IN ABSTRACT MUSIC

By NORMAN CAZDEN

In an earlier study¹ I have stated that "reference to the real world is present in all music". This reference is what I term *realism* in music. Viewed in this comprehensive sense, the connection of the art of music with reality is intrinsic and inter-permeated, and it ought not to be confused with the external or interpretative "meanings" that overlay some kinds of music. Realism in music is not at all the same thing as *naturalism*, which is the direct imitation of sounds as they occur in nature. The fact that naturalism can be handled in a very "realistic" fashion is a problem largely of words, and on that account we should not confuse realism with naturalism. Neither is realism in music the same thing as *pictorialism*, whereby some representation of non-musical ideas is accomplished by means of an intellectual analogy, such as the rise of a melodic line to a text that tells of souls going up to Heaven. Finally, the arbitrary attachment to some musical figure of whatever it is declared to represent, like the *Leitmotiv* that "identifies" a ring or a sword, does not constitute the proper means by which music reflects the world about us. Imitation, symbolism or synthetic "descriptions" are at best only accessory or marginal devices in the art of music, not its true mode of being.

Realism in music is the reference of the art to the real world, and primarily to the human world. It provides the directly intelligible content of music, and it is achieved by processes peculiar to the musical medium. "Realism in music is *the totality of concrete reference to the common experience of human beings as embodied in all the formal elements of musical art.*"

When music is dissected or "analysed" from a formal standpoint, the concept "form" is given a very restricted range, and the analysis is devoted to description of certain mechanical aspects of the shapings or orderings of sounds in a given composition. Full consideration of even the formal aspects of music is thus neglected, and the "forms" that have been extracted from their concrete service are then declared self-sufficient and empty of real content. The æsthetic standpoint of "pure music", or formalism, thus rests on a limited and circular way of reasoning. It is limited to a consideration of a few externals, and it is circular in assuming what it sets out to prove.

¹ "Towards a Theory of Realism in Music", *Jour. Aesth. & Art Crit.*, X (1951), pp. 137-151.

Further, the method of formal analysis also relies on an assumption of the æsthetic superiority of any music in which formal "purity" predominates or can be demonstrated. All examples of music that have texts, or that are tied up with dance, or ceremonial, or any other usual human activity giving rise to music are declared lacking in this "purity" or abstraction, and hence not truly music at all. Thus a special æsthetic category is reserved for "pure music" and for those who cherish it, and admission to it is made dependent upon a supposed remoteness from mundane things. Music that meets the requirement is termed pure, or absolute, or abstract, and is hailed as an instance of the ultimate goal of art.

Curiously enough, this "abstract" music can be "understood" only by a favoured few, who have presumably an inborn grasp of its nature and a bent for analytical listening on a level not attainable by the mass. The common run of "music lovers" who wish to partake of the exalted life of the spirit may gain a reserved entry by subjecting themselves to the study of "music appreciation". This study is made to consist in an introduction to the approved literature of "pure music", a properly intoned commentary upon its sheer formal beauty, a learning of names and of an extensive jargon to be used in describing this music, and a ritual of formal "analysis". By dint of repetition this ritual produces in the novice a heady sense of elevation and makes him a steady purchaser of recordings, though he is quietly convinced all the time that the highest rank of "appreciation" is for ever closed to him, since it is accessible only to those born with special insight.

Clearly the objective of this traditional "music appreciation" is the instilling of a particular æsthetic viewpoint, supposedly indulged in by a "superior" type. The whole procedure is a transparent reflection of obsolete social distinctions. It includes the usual attempts at "buying in" to the status of the established old families by moneyed newcomers, and the assiduous propaganda among the commoners as to the high taste of their betters and of their own destined and inescapable inferiority. Steeped in these notions, we see the doctrine of "abstract" music arising from social myth and not from musical fact. It is in both respects narrow and unproductive, and it cannot stand up under investigation.

The indications thus are that even in terms of its stated objectives the formal analysis of "pure" music plainly fails. It fails in technical matters of analysis, it fails to make clear the nature of music and it fails as a criterion for the understanding and the evaluation of great works of art.

Moreover, these failures are not defects of application or of

reasoned efforts. It is simply that the concept of a pure, absolute or abstract art of music is an illusion. The great classic works of instrumental music are not so rootless: they are highly realistic and they overflow with significant human content. It is a content readily grasped by everyone, once the misleading precepts of "music appreciation" are laid aside. And it is precisely to these works that narrow formal analysis does not apply, for the perspectives of their realistic content invariably shatter the constructions of abstract "form".

In my previous discussion I have dealt with the concept of realism in music by examining its relation to naturalism, pictorialism and other such principles, and by tracing its manifestations in a musical work with a "programme". My objective was to clarify and to differentiate the concept, to show its proper ramifications as against the usual spurning of "programme music" by the formalists, and thus to rectify some of the criteria of artistic judgment of music, even judgment of a particular work. But, taking up both the general question of realism and its bearings on numerous other problems in the aesthetics of music, I found it impossible to give attention also to the specific action of realism in "abstract" music. This application of the theory becomes my task here.

Let us take note first of the range of musical works which may be covered under the terms "pure", "absolute" or "abstract" music. In discussions from the viewpoint of formalism we are tempted to believe that this range comprises a general type of music that may exist at any time and under any conditions, or at least whenever there are signs of a highly developed musical art. Actually in this view the presence of abstract music is itself taken as the only valid sign of a highly developed art. But in fact there is nothing at all general about where and when and under what conditions we find pure or absolute or abstract musical works; on the contrary, it can be stated flatly that such works occur solely in a particular period of history and in a particular culture area.

"Abstract" music in practice means the instrumental concert music of west-central Europe during the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth centuries, with a certain inevitable spilling over into nearby regions or into colonies, and into the following century. It is not the least indication of a myopia compounded with arrogance that the chief doctrinaires of formalism in the aesthetics of music deal exclusively with this limited range of music, yet invariably formulate their assertions as general theoretical principles, and even avow the eternal and universal validity of any number of purely local mannerisms.

Thus, nowhere in his famous volume² does Hanslick mention the music of even nearby England or Spain, or of the Balkan, Scandinavian or Slavonic countries—surely an indication of a confined viewpoint. Neither does he tell of “the beautiful” prior to the year 1700. His scant references to non-European music are infused, like much of the “high” thought of his day and clime, with a disagreeable prejudice equalled only by uncritical ignorance. But these great gaps do not deter the æsthetician and his devoted academic followers from propounding big “universal” and “eternal” truths about pure form in music. To-day the pretence that we can consider the æsthetics of music in general when all instances are drawn from one restricted kind of music is so naïve that only the small minds of the “profound” German tradition will be caught so engaged.

We find, in fact, that all treatments of pure or absolute or abstract music are indeed limited precisely to the two centuries or so of European “art” music. These notions are never discussed in regard to Balinese *gamelan* music, or to the rhythm of a Haitian *juba*, or to the plan of the Indian *ālāpa*, and we seek vainly for examples in the ‘Fitzwilliam Virginal Book’ or in Frescobaldi’s ‘Fiori musicali’. No, “pure” music turns out to mean the *sonata*, the *symphony*, the *string quartet* and perhaps the *fugue*.

Having observed this matter of setting, we ought first to investigate the particular conditions out of which these types of music arose and the part which they played in people’s lives, before we draw any conclusions about abstraction, purity or eternal and universal values in music. I submit, indeed, that however worthy the individual “classics” remain as great achievements of musical art, their values are not due to a transcending of worldly conditions, but precisely to their fulfilment of these conditions, which unfortunately their proud inheritors have mistaken for the only possible ones.

“Abstract” music is supposed to be free from attachment to any specific function of the art. On a sort of lower plane of existence, it is thought, there are to be found many “practical” uses of music, which are by that token invariably “lowbrow” and lacking in artistic aim or worth. The dance number, the drinking-song and even the accompaniment to worship are all music that “merely” serves a purpose, and hence they are supposed to be declassed, incapable of profundity or development. It may, of course, occur to us that social differences and not æsthetic values underlie the

² Eduard Hanslick, ‘Vom Musikalisch-Schönen’ (Vienna, 1854). In English: ‘On the Beautiful in Music’, trans. from the 7th German edition (1891) by Gustav Cohen (London, 1891).

pose of superiority which regards everything that "serves" as lowly. But upon closer examination we discover that abstract music also serves, if not necessarily a higher ideal, then at least a higher social circle. The constant and unmistakably realistic reference pervading all "abstract" or "pure" music is its place in the social function called a concert.

For the sonata and the symphony and the string quartet, and perhaps the fugue, are all instances of instrumental music intended for performance at a public concert, specifically at the kind of public concert developed in European culture in recent times. This concert music emerged from its earlier service of entertaining the nobility in their lavish homes. The entertainment was composed for them of polite and stereotyped reminiscences of hunts, operatic extravagances, military marches, minuets, pastoral masques and stylized love lyrics, all of which were tacked together into serenades, divertimentos, nocturnos and even symphonies. These things were taken over by those who regard themselves humourlessly as the "general public". They were transformed into an art of more appropriate sentiment, if less refined display, and addressed to a grasping audience chosen, characteristically, no longer by family gentility or cultivated deportment, but solely by the measure of payment for tickets. It is easy to understand why more recent generations who are still inveterate concert-goers passively take these things for granted and at the same time ignore their causes. It is not so easy to suggest why the rest of the populace, not to say the rest of the troubled world, ought to accede to standards formed in these surroundings.

Abstract music is not, therefore, the ideal condition of music in general, nor is it automatically a superior type of music. This music has a function and performs it, if necessary, at the expense of any and all æsthetic standards. It is hardly needful to repeat here the various and glaring ills of overdone virtuosity that are encouraged in the concert-hall. "Pure" or abstract form, reduced from poetry to fact, means very simply the form found suitable and acceptable for the presentation of instrumental concert music of a certain period, however readily this is mistaken by its patrons for the whole of the art. The "prestige of good music" is conferred upon it quite deliberately and for self-serving purposes, and our understanding of this is not helped by the acquiescence of the presumably independent "critic", who in fact exists only as an accessory to the very same services.

Not only is abstract concert music a special variety, rather than the whole of art, however, but in its own terms it too is unable to

escape a real reference, not merely to its own conditions of use, but also to the historical pre-conditions out of which it arose. Even within the framework of concert music the origins of "abstract" or "pure" form reveal, to any who do not deliberately deafen themselves, that their features are formed both from older and from concurrent types of non-concert music. All the associations of these older types become embedded in the "abstract" forms themselves, though in the process the form-images are also idealized, generalized, expanded and transformed to fit their new use. A comparison of a true dance minuet, as in Mozart's 'Don Giovanni', with the symphonic minuet shows how this process operates.

We may distinguish five principal sources for the formal and also for the realistic qualities of abstract instrumental concert music. The first of these is vocal music. Much abstract music is born in the direct or indirect imitation or transfer of musical treatments which occur in well-known vocal types, and they bear the indelible imprint of vocal writing, even of "heightened speech". It is no accident that the melodic "themes" in this music are so often cast in a limited vocal range, moving by small steps to a climax that would be quite ineffectual for the more agile instruments, and exhibiting a phrasing, rhythm, placement of emphasis and recognizable inflection that can only suggest singing, and even particular manners of singing.

Among the "abstract" instrumental types originating in vocal music are the slow-style fugue growing out of the motet and early *ricercar*, the aria-like slow "movement", the "song without words" or other "lyrical piece", and also sections of works in the manner of recitatives, chorales, lullabies, operatic duets, barcarolles and choruses. We should also include here the use of actual known tunes, or their imitations, such as those used for variations, and we ought to observe that the earliest kind of sonata was rightly called a *canzona da suonare*.

A second major source for "abstract" instrumental music is the technical manipulation of the instrument. There was a rapid development of new instruments, and of new uses and treatments of familiar instruments, during the period when concert music flourished. New incentives, also, drove players towards professional achievement and specialization in performance on these instruments. And so much of the music necessarily reflected the study, the repetition, the application, the exploration and the solution of endless technical problems of performance. The performer tended to dwell on these technical problems and to rehearse them constantly. He also enjoyed showing off his accomplishments, perhaps

even more than the musical values of what he played, especially because his fame and his livelihood came to depend almost entirely on his success in technical display.

Direct results of this aspect of composition are found in the toccata, the study (and its frank derivative the "concert study"), the invention, the prelude, the *perpetuum mobile*, the virtuoso concerto and the ornamental type of variations. Technical manipulation is also the basis of the passage and the cadenza in "abstract" sonatas and quartets.

A third origin of "abstract" music, perhaps the most evident and yet the least mentioned, is music for the dance. Instrumental music in general has never been far from its service as accompaniment to the dance. Indeed, save for those works or portions of works which come distinctly from a florid vocal cantillation, we may establish that the rhythm and metre of instrumental concert music is necessarily dance-like, and it is one of the peculiarly arduous conventions of the concert-hall that members of the audience, and indeed everyone but the conductor, must suppress any urge engendered by the music to tap their feet, sway their bodies or clap their hands.

More specifically, large sections, movements or entire works of "abstract" concert music are based on known dance types, and thus they convey all the connotations or realistic references of those dance types. Often these dance types are specified, as minuet, rondo, gavotte, sarabande, waltz, which makes us wonder at the obtuseness of those formal analysts who blithely manage to ignore the impress of the dance on the "form" and character of the music. But quite as often the specific dance type is not identified, and our usual study of musical "form" does not enter into the qualities and the peculiar rhythms and motion of the most common dances, and does not promote their ready recognition. Yet these qualities and rhythms are so prominent that only obstinate evasion in analytical procedures can fail to discover them. Familiar social dances predominate in concert performances, but stage dance or ballet treatments may also be found. All the movements of Beethoven's seventh Symphony are based on dances, and there is nothing at all abstract about the work.

A fourth source for "abstract" music is composition, literally the organization of musical materials. It has been thought that here, at least, we have a process registering the free and capricious flight of the composer's imagination from all mundane ties. Closer examination reveals that the procedures of composition in abstract music are in fact severely conditioned by its origins and by its

concert function. Experimentation in the "composing" of musical materials and in the potentials of "development" are actually of the same order as the performer's manipulation of figures, even though these have been regarded as the focus of purely formal analysis and hence by attribution as the sole end of the composer. It has been overlooked that the material to be developed consists of melodies, motifs, progressions and figures which already have an imagery full upon them; that the processes of treatment and development are highly conventionalized and carry instant and detailed associations with previous experience with concert music, and to an extent with the clichés of opera; and that the framework of musical elements, tonality, harmony, polyphony, scale forms, normal sonority values, patternings and phrase treatments is entirely familiar and suggestive of a particular mode of making music.

Even the specific occasions for "development", not to say the methods, are fixed by convention. They do not result from irresponsible intuition, but constitute true explorative tools. To overlook the stereotypes of improvisation is easy for the formalists, the first order of men to have forgotten how to improvise. But we ought not to ignore everything that is known about the working methods of composers, which are far from mysterious, or everything taught in composition courses.

"Composition" development in concert music is found in the fantasia, the rhapsody, the ballade, the fugue, but also in sections called introductions, transitions, developments, in codas and extensions, as well as in many variation procedures. To recognize "composition" as a specific source of "abstract" music is to remove the mystical blinds from about the workshop of the composer and to lead us to an examination of the real roots of imaginative development in concert music. Formal analysis of these developments does nothing more than register some external facts, when we are in need of accounting for these facts. And we ought by this time to be done with the question-begging "exposures" of subconscious *Urvlinien* or other mysterious modes of thinking ascribed to thoroughly uncomplicated composers. A close study of the real references shown in development techniques can bring us closer to an understanding and valuation of the human sources of great works of art.

The final and composite setting of "abstract" concert music lies in other known and specific social functions of music, especially the dramatic, the ceremonial and the occasional or practical. Formal analysis provides no inkling that music other than "pure" concert music is worthy of consideration and study, and it leaves

little if any suggestion that this concert music largely consists in recollection, juxtaposition and idealization of well-recognized images derived from innumerable familiar and conversational uses of music. Yet, historically speaking, music played at concerts undeniably began as a *pot-pourri* of musical genres designed for some other use. The *sinfonia*, to mention a single obvious case, meant an introduction to a dramatic work, opera or cantata that exhibited contrasting human characters or ways of action, which the formalists now call "themes".

The "numbers" at a concert or a recital, and also portions and sections of these "numbers", are jumbles of half-nostalgic reminders of every possible species of musical experience from outside the concert-hall. Theatre music, opera, religious or other institutional ritual, signal and fanfare music, street-cries, group-adherence music such as patriotic and student songs, music of work rhythms and antiphonies, camp-fire music, dinner music, narrative ballad music, "background" music, gondola music, pastoral and masque and charade music, circus and fair and carnival music, evening entertainment music—the list is endless, and "abstract" concert music imitates and derives from all these varieties. To pretend otherwise is to make ourselves deaf and to forget that we live in a real world, that we do not bring new-born innocent ears to every repetition of an "abstract" work and that the art of music was fortunately not invented by and for aesthetes, but that even the aesthetes are with us as a burden of a particular level and way of social living.

In "pure" concert music we do not often find the functional sources of works or movements identified by name. It is customary to label a march as such, but not to point out the fanfare or fife-and-drum origins of many of its figures. Reticence about these matters on the part of composers is due partly to a desire to avoid too narrow a frame of possible utilization and partly to their failure to foresee that later generations of listeners, grossly misdirected by the experts, might become so obtuse about ordinary and obvious matters that they would have to be told. The first of these impulses we see in the practice of the older *sonata da chiesa*, which might contain the same kind of *sarabanda* or *siciliano* movement that belonged to the *sonata da camera*, but instead of bearing a dance title is inscribed merely *adagio* or *moderato*, so that the movement should not seem inappropriate for the stated occasion. And in respect of the second, should Bach have announced that the opening of the "Gloria" in the B minor Mass is based on a *passepied*? The fact was obvious and needless to elucidate, either for himself or for his

audience, although the modern audience has been well taught to overlook it. In the same way Mozart does not need to tell us that the phrases of the minuet in his "Haffner" Symphony present alternately the characters of pompous aristocratic gentlemen and of graceful aristocratic ladies, almost in the acts of strutting and curtsying, as though in operatic staging. Only the academicians engaged in formal analysis, and their partners the aestheticians of "pure" rootless music, can fail to observe this realistic quality and content. To everyone else it is immediately and refreshingly evident.

Functional associations as covered especially in this last, miscellaneous category, are also largely present in concert music during sections rather than in complete works, for it is their juxtaposition and elevation to a total, idealized setting that becomes the main focus of concert listening. And these associations need never be overtly verbal, for it is the nature of realism in music that they are conveyed directly through the medium of musical forms and hence require no verbal translation. The successful merchant who has bought his wife a ticket for a performance such as was once open only to the nobility wants not only the prestige of presence, but also a running reminder of all the kinds of music he has heard in less proud surroundings, uplifted and built up into a commentary on his mode of living and a flattery of his less exalted tastes.

So it is in combination that the realistic images are usually found. Sometimes the reference is so brief as to provide only a fleeting suggestion, as for example the unmistakable style of the unison men's chorus for a rapid phrase (bars 33-36) immediately after the first statement of the *prestissimo* of Beethoven's Sonata, Op. 109. Often the definite reliance on "outside" experiences which the concert audience shares with the composer is made evident, as in the overdone operatic antics of the scherzo-trio in Schumann's Sonata, Op. 11. It is these direct and *internal* references to experience with musical forms, rather than the more trivial non-musical suggestions of attached "interpretative" meanings, which bring about the realism of abstract music.

The chief result, and doubtless the principal intent too, of formalist aesthetics is to cover over these essential sources of realistic imagery in concert music by a mystical doctrine of abstraction and a jargon devoted to mechanical dissection of surface "forms" from which all imagery has been expunged. So inured are we to this procedure that we still think of a musical "theme" as a series of notes or even as their dead paper notations, and not as a musical image. We are taught to observe whether it is first played

by the violins, but not what kind of musical experience it conveys. In this way the living, human sources of "abstract" or "pure" works of art are obscured, and the constant and firm realism of great works in the literature of music are "interpreted out" and nullified.

To the eternal perplexity of earnest music lovers the integral values of music seem always to have been disengaged and thrown away by the experts before they make their initial contact as listeners. Then they wonder uncomfortably, even while dutifully repeating the dry terms of form-descriptions, why the substance of the art seems not to lie in the remaining shell. Is it so strange that they begin to doubt their ability ever to understand music, which is of all the arts the most accessible?

It is difficult to describe in words the detailed content and treatment of realistic images in a given example of "abstract" music. The difficulty lies in the inadequacies of words, not in the problems of the music. For our grasp of real reference in music is instantaneous and direct, and consists in a rapidly shifting, flowing and also simultaneous juxtaposition of musical images derived and developed from the endlessly varied functions of music in human living. But in following the details of this process in words, our descriptions are necessarily slow to catch up. They are not equal to the vividness and to the constant flux, they require us to go off on detours and into backlogs of historical information in order to explain minor points. During the necessary stages of the process our grasp of the overall imagery, which in the music is immediate and plain, becomes diffuse in putting the elements together verbally. Also, we are poorly prepared for the task by the usual techniques developed for the study of music, for these techniques reflect a philosophy that carefully circles round the fringes of the real content.

Yet descriptions of realism in abstract music are by no means so difficult as are the more usual "analyses", and they become infinitely more satisfying as well as more suggestive of the profound resources of great art. Eventually we find no satisfaction in methods that succeed only in translating into technical terms what every musician reads at once in the notes. Formal analysis, with no vital end in view but an inane admiration for sheer mechanics in musical composition, provides us with no means of handling or even discovering musical imagery, and with none of the roots of this imagery, for these roots are in human activity and not in mystical principles of disembodied "form". The traditional techniques of "form" analysis, "style" analysis, "harmonic" analysis and

considerations of instrumental timbres and their combinations have succeeded only in stating some of the *how* of musical composition. They have been singularly inadequate for showing *what* is composed, and *why*. Thus the usual concept of "analysis" can only result in the helpless comment "isn't it marvellous?" when its task is over. Ironically but inevitably the idealized "perfection" of empty form, if it exists at all outside books, is approached in decidedly poor and unimaginative music. The fetish of musical "form" has blunted our search for the real sources of musical imagery, which lie in the history and in the human values and the social uses of the art.

In leaving behind these narrow procedures and in tracing the realistic content of a given musical work, we are faced with a need for going back over much of the setting of such works that ought to have been made obvious to us long ago. We also require an orientation and even a supply of properly analytic terms, since those at our disposal are far from sharply outlined. Hence our study of a specific example may tend to be cumbersome, and it must continually refer us back to matters that we should have been able to take for granted. Nevertheless, the surest way to demonstrate what exactly is meant by realism in abstract music is to select fairly some well-known example of such music, and to show precisely wherein lies the common, communicative content of its formal elements.

Now the pure and absolute beauty of abstract music is usually considered to have reached its ultimate formal perfection in the works of Mozart. True, it is hastily forgotten that Mozart indulged a strong inclination for opera, in which moreover not only dramatic meaning but even rational and humanistic philosophy is evident. It is also hastily overlooked that most of Mozart's instrumental works were written on commission for known occasions, and were conditioned by the tastes as well as by the stated requirements of his patrons. Still, a high proportion of Mozart's output is in the "abstract" instrumental medium of the symphony, the concerto, the quartet and the sonata.

Among the best known of Mozart's compositions is the easy little piano sonata in C major (K. 545). Since this work is unpretentious and "obvious", readily available and yet belongs to the composer's mature period, we will take it as typical and apt for the purposes of content analysis.

The first thing we hear in this C major Sonata is a 4-bar melody made up of two balanced units. This melody is exceedingly simple, and yet it manages to provide a great deal in the way of familiar

associations. First, its range and contour are exactly those of an expressive vocal aria. Secondly, it provides a setting of "normality" and an almost conversational directness while rapidly establishing the key, the tempo, the phrase-pattern and the dynamics by most common means. Thirdly, it sets up a reasoned melodic juxtaposition and a harmonic and rhythmic balance; yet there are sufficient contrasts, a lack of congruence in the two subsidiary phrases and an immediate widely curving span to serve well as an initial broaching of matter for thoughtful elaboration. The start is on the accent, as is frequent in Mozart melodies, while the tonic ending is sufficiently incomplete to lead us on into the following passage-work.

There is no text to tell us that the topic under discussion is, let us say, whether women are true or fickle, and we cannot therefore say that some such verbal "programme" for the music is at all valid. But we can surely state that the quality or attitude of the melody would conform quite well to just such a text. Conversely, when Ferrando and Guglielmo attach just this text to a similar melodic phrase in 'Cosi fan tutte' (Act I, No. 3, bars 34 ff.) the words seem a highly exact rendering of what was already implicit in the music. And this is the full significance of musical realism, wherein a *musical image supplies the totality of connotations through its form*, while if words are present they serve merely to *specify and fix certain denotations* that are only potential in the music. The dramatic text of an opera is not communicably present in its music, but the real impulse and content of the music already makes that text potential and valid, as much in a sonata by Mozart as in an opera, for the order of thinking is the same.³

Further, with regard to this opening melodic phrase, the nature of the accompaniment should not escape us, precisely because it is deliberately kept in the background. This accompaniment is of the routine "Alberti bass" pattern that merely follows the progression of simple harmonies by breaking them into groups of notes sounded singly. But the musical substance of this disarmingly simple procedure is far greater than we are inclined to judge. How does it happen, for instance, that a "line" full of skips, of exactly the same order as the skips in the expressive upper melody, should seem so placid and unmelodic? How does it draw so little attention to itself, despite its greater number of notes and its important service in establishing the harmonies and their rhythmic flux? And why did Mozart use so conventional a pattern?

³ Cf. Edgar Wind, 'The Critical Nature of a Work of Art' in 'Music and Criticism', ed. by Richard F. French (Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 64-65.

These things are not accidents. The effect of a broken harmonic accompaniment was the standard method of orchestral support for the operatic aria, and the particular figure used here was also a widely-known and ordinary transference of such support to the keyboard. Absolute monotony of the pattern and of its rhythm or, more exactly, momentum are essential to the background quality, since our attention cannot remain fixed on an unvarying pattern, nor on the substitution of aimless steady movement for rhythm. For visual reasons alone, in comparable situations, we observe the singer on the stage, not the violas and cellos in the pit going through their routine motions. Yet enough of the accompaniment filters through in our listening, as well as in the consciousness of the player of the Sonata, to provide us with the conventionally imagined sustaining of harmonies on a non-sustaining instrument, with the irregular change of harmonies in accordance with the expression and with a quiet tempo of motion. Such supreme simplicity is an achievement, neither primitive nor trivial in musical conception, as even a brief survey of the historical growth of accompaniment texture in eighteenth-century music makes evident.

Following the initial phrase is a chain of passage-work scales, wholly proper to a piece surely conceived as material for a piano pupil. Formal analysis runs into difficulties here. The passage-work begins on the sub-dominant harmony and stresses that area of the key throughout, despite the "rule" of moving towards the dominant area at this stage of the "form". The passagework does not dissolve the opening idea by using portions of that idea, but by means of wholly routine piano "exercises". More significantly, the first subject was only a single phrase, and the length of the "incidental" passage overbalances it, while its rhythm of harmonic changes is more widely varied and positive.

But in terms of real content all these things become relatively unimportant, while the main outlines are easily understood. Not only are the runs proper to the piano sonata as technical manipulation, they are also the normal "movement" images for staged action between sung phrases or preparatory to an entry. That explains why the passage ends with typical formality on a cadence whose origin is a combination of emphatic announcement prior to speech by a personage, a semi-fanfare of added wind parts and a "vamp till ready" alternation of principal chords.

Thus, in the brief span of twelve bars of music the full associations of the operatic overture are provided, together with their performance in a version reduced for the keyboard, and we have only to compare this work with Mozart's actual overtures to note how alike

they are. In writing this Sonata the composer cannot have been thinking abstractly of formal patterns of notes, otherwise it would be miraculous that he hit upon just the kind of passage-work that fits in with operatic conventions. His thought-process had to begin with the familiar images of musical drama and the usual forms of their renderings in keyboard compositions.

This judgment is here confirmed by the second subject that follows. Only as a contrast in dramatic character can we explain the nature of this brief new phrase. The two-bar melody, with its exact repetition, has a more rapid motion than the opening, superimposed on a slower rate of change of basic harmony. But the syncopated rhythm and the breathless pause provide the cues for an agitation that is already evident in the heightened range, a purely vocal effect since the shift of a few steps has little expressive meaning on the piano. The agitation is principally supplied, however, by the accompaniment figure, which is once again of disarming insignificance after a momentary shock.

This figure, another of the common stock of the period, is in double time compared with the opening, tremulous in pattern even in its regularity, first slower and then much faster in its changes of harmony; and it begins with an off-key, accented chromatic bit that has as much impact in its context to-day as it must have had for Mozart's hearers, though it also resolves in a reasonable fashion, still maintaining an undercurrent of tension. We can hardly doubt that this second subject is a bold portrayal of the other character in a drama, and we can even recognize to an extent the kind of character it is. For example, we find none of the lyrical or the "feminine" qualities supposed to pertain to second subjects. And what can formal analysis tell us about that?

The short and fragmentary statement of this agitated phrase is strung into a more extended passage of pianistic figurations, made up of regular alternations of dissonant and consonant moments, in sequences of broken chord patterns. A gradual descent makes the approach to the new key-centre of G somewhat less than emphatic, and this result is confirmed by placing the tonic harmony in the weakest rhythmical position. Of melody there is only an outline or "structure", that is, none at all, for two semi-sustained lines are heard to fall alternately and in regular pace. Another 4-bar group prepares the cadence, again with emphasis on an initial subdominant, tied in with a gesturing rise which combines a slower vocal-type line with a mannered string-orchestra method of ornamentation. The cadence itself is pushed over into the following strong accent, and the accompaniment along with the final pro-

longed trill belong to a *tutti* close. Two additional single-bar codetta cadences complete the section, in the manner of the ritornello or interlude passage for full orchestra in a dramatic aria, followed by some routine "finish" chords to fill out the phrase.

At this highly conventional "first close" the movement is stopped, and the whole exposition is repeated literally. Thus we remain with the total picture of a miniature dramatic scene, with a quick outlining of its characters and sufficient passage-work to keep them moving. The dimensions are small, brought down from the full stage to the tapestried music-room, but from the tinkling piano are evoked all the associations of full-fledged opera.

The development section characteristically portrays dramatic action, but without reference to the small-scale personalities who were introduced. The static orchestral ritornello becomes the source of motion and of shifting emotional states by means of a change to the minor mode and to less stable harmonic progressions. It is interrupted by alternating and mirrored scale passages which lead off into new keys. Pianistic figures take up the burden of the drama, as would the orchestra when the singers are acting on the stage. The solidity of the images is clear and their development handling and juxtaposition are properly and simply dramatized, without pretence.

After thirteen bars the play returns us to the opening idea. But, alas for the predictions of purely "abstract" analysis of form, the first melody character has wandered off into an unexpected part of the stage and refuses to return to his initial position. The formal return comes in the wrong key, in F major instead of in C. What is more, the statement is beyond question complete and deliberate, normal in its action as in the later logical reaction, and a good portion of the following passage-work continues as if all were well. Only later is this stubborn departure taken in hand, during the routine passages that are so frequently dismissed as mere "transitional matter" without further examination, and the previous preparatory music brought back. Nothing in the precepts of "abstract" sonata form can account for Mozart's departure from the "rule" in this return, yet in terms of the miniature drama in which characters have no time to grow but can be viewed in different postures and can react to each other's movements, the transposition of this opening melody seems quite reasonable, and it certainly worries nobody but the form-analysts.

With the first subject lifted up into a new key, the second is now dropped down to the main key, and its whole train of events follows in almost literal transposition. Rationality and satisfactory balance

are thus achieved, in action as well as in form. For a moment the more emphatic diminished-seventh harmony introduced before the cadence suggests that the agitated character still has potentials of movement, but we are put at ease by a more decisive registration of the final chords.

The rational and classic balance that the formalists find in Mozart, which they present as the essence of "pure" musical beauty, is certainly evident in this movement, perhaps in even more profound ways and in more subtle details than the usual analytical techniques can show. But this rationality and balance are by no means abstract in nature, and they do not emerge from pure principles of formal beauty. Neither do they descend mysteriously from the stratosphere, nor burst forth from the unconscious imperative of unfathomable genius. For the efficacy of sober reason and its balancing humanism were the actual, pervasive and forward-looking perspectives of eighteenth-century thought. They appeared as humane truths held to be self-evident, and Sarastro speaks to us in a sonata just as plainly as in 'The Magic Flute'.

"Classic" formality and well-trimmed, polite substitutes for emotion were the approved manners for supplying refined pastimes for an aristocracy that had outworn its welcome and merely marked time while it consumed society's wealth. The sonata had to fit unobtrusively into this setting, in order to satisfy the patroness. It could not yet expand to the sweeping proportions of full-blown drama and major conflict, with personal interests directly involved, as in the mature works of Beethoven, for this music had as yet little service beyond the tea-table circle. Yet, even in this environment and at some remove, the delicate C major Sonata already contains an implied seriousness of characterization, a hint of far-flung development and an emotional scope ranging far beyond the attained capacities of its themes or of the light-headed young piano pupil for whom the work was evidently written. If this is not therefore a "great" work by Mozart, it still transcends by far the little purposes it had of necessity to serve, and also the more extended but indolent pieces of Mozart's minor contemporaries.

The slow movement of the Sonata is a proper operatic aria, though a short one. It opens with a lyrical line of a distinctly vocal cast, overlayed here and there with ornaments resembling a parallel *obbligato* part for violin, and accompanied by the routine Alberti bass patterns. The contrasting "B" section moves conventionally to the dominant, and in its more actively changing harmonies supports the more impassioned expression proper to the higher range and accumulated motion. The shortened return

produces a two-part balance and retains the earlier ornamental variation. Stereotyped *appoggiature* belonging to the *bel canto* aria are used profusely and weak-beat ("feminine") cadence clichés occur in all the phrases. Judicious chromatics, raised "leading" auxiliaries and a few well-placed diminished-seventh chords are introduced in an almost off-hand fashion, as though following a pre-arranged conventional pattern. Mozart seems to have fallen into the very procedures of which the formalists accuse him, and in the process he would seem reduced almost to the correct dullness of which Clementi was sometimes capable.

But the abbreviated aria gives way rather abruptly to a new interlude, starting in G minor. The innocuous melodic line is turned more forcibly upward, the phrase contour is stretched to larger dimensions, the motion of chords and bass line is activated and an unexpectedly intense climax is reached in a framework of chromatic harmonies and an expansive climb. The newly dramatized material is made up of just what we have already heard and accepted as polite filling.

This bursting of bonds is nevertheless well controlled and momentary, and the movement soon relaxes into another affirmation of the quiet opening. An *Abgesang* coda phrase is attached to the melody in true operatic fashion, attaining a secondary climax, and then the whole is tied up neatly with quiet repetitions of the cadence chords.

Just as in the first movement, the material in the *Andante* is relatively slight, though well characterized, but the intervening development is not the neat and pat commentary that belongs to the formula. In the one case the dramatic development by-passes the two characters and overshadows them, and the next time the innocent tune is swept up into a driving emotional upheaval. Thus, beneath the "classic" surface of well-kept formal gardens, there seethes in Mozart's music a torrent of human passion in which we find caught up the moving impulses even of the small souls with whom he had to deal in his little pieces.

The final rondo is a light dance, built on a tiny and obvious canon figure, with the second portion of each pair of opening phrases set like a change in instrumental scoring. The first episode hardly brings about a change of key in simple chords, when we find it again devoted to the first dance figure. The regularity is diverted by a re-transition, more fitting for a larger work, after which the opening phrases return. A comparison with folk dances of the period reveals the modulation and the re-transition passage as the only symptoms of idealization or "highbrow" modification of an essentially popular style.

At this point occurs one of those troublesome hybrid forms that plague the academicians. The new episode is, first, all out of proportion in length to the other material. It is, secondly, not formed of new, contrasting material at all, but is a development of the opening dance phrase. Hence it should occur in a sonata-form movement, but Mozart has marked this unmistakably 'Rondo', as though to try our academic patience. Thirdly, this episode itself is a very condensed but complete and balanced sonata form, in twenty short bars, followed by a brief modulation. Finally, the dramatic intensity of the section is once again all out of keeping with the substance of the initial material, and if we observe merely the mechanical outlines of the motifs rather than their potential imagery, there is no accounting for this section at all, any more than for the developments in the preceding movements.

The final recurrence of the dance theme is followed by a repeated closing phrase akin to the first episode, once again suggesting a "recapitulation" treatment out of turn. Then the movement winds up with some full-bodied fanfares to let us know the end is here.

Thus, to review it briefly, the "abstract" music of the C major Sonata may be very concretely characterized, *through its formal qualities*, in terms of musical realism. On the other hand no purely formal exposition can account either for the nature of the musical images used or for what happens to them. There is nothing "pure" or "absolute" about any of these musical procedures, and a setting forth of the external plan of motifs and patterns tells us nothing whatever of the underlying unity and construction of the work, not to mention the significant content whose very presence formal analysis denies.

The three movements of the Sonata are respectively a dramatic scene, an aria and a dance. All are appropriate to Mozartian opera. The first two unmistakably derive from vocal types of a highly specific convention, and all the movements make full use of orchestral effects in so far as these can be rendered on the keyboard. Still, the work fits the piano well, it is functional in that direct sense, and it is fairly easy to play and thus practical, save for some tough moments in the last movement. It also utilizes familiar keyboard patterns and makes good practice and good self-entertainment.

The interpretations here given of details in the C major Sonata should serve, on examination, to relate the formal qualities of the music to their real reference. Nowhere do I suggest a hidden "programme" in the naïve nineteenth-century sense or a verbal "meaning" that ought to be translated out of the work during listening. No, the musical content is not well rendered in words

at all, for it lies in the *instantaneous connotations grown upon the musical forms themselves*, taking the term "forms" in a more than usually inclusive sense.

The controlling principle, even in "abstract" music, or rather especially in "abstract" music, is the development of realistic musical images. And musical images may be defined as recognizable motifs, patterns, formations, orderings of notes, which have arisen in certain conditions of musical activity, in certain functions of music in the social life of real human beings. Musical imagery thus combines the shape with its referent, not in symbolic or denotative fashion as do words, but by means of direct association with the whole of our concrete experience with music.

All this is but a way of saying that the works of men bear indelibly the mark of the men who made them and the purposes for which they were made. If we try to ignore the realism of music, the reference of the "form" images to their content, we find that on abstractly formal grounds alone we can never account for even the technical procedures of the "purest" music. Whenever we are given formal precepts in the abstract, we are led to expect a symmetry of a mechanical and outwardly ingenious or involuted order. Then, taking the C major Sonata for a moment, why should Mozart, on purely formal grounds, have "answered" or balanced the first two bars of the opening melodic phrase as he did? The second pair of bars might have been made up of an exact inversion of the melodic pattern, or an interchanged position of dominant and tonic harmonies, or a reverse of the pattern, or a literal sequence. What more fertile treatments could inhere entirely in the abstracted "form" of the little phrase? But as soon as we consider these things, we observe that Mozart, who has always been *belittled* as the "purest" of the "abstract" composers of brainlessly balanced "absolute" music, does not waste thought on such non-musical toying with notes. His two-bar answer presupposes a primary concern with eloquent gesture and inflection of the voice, and this leads him to a less symmetrical but larger tonal framework, and he draws the whole phrase towards an open-ended building of the initial image. The process is far easier to follow in the music than in its verbal description, because this process is natural and proper to the art of music; it arises from the real imagery that makes up the formed substance of note-groups.

On listening to Mozart's "abstract" music to-day, we are bound to lose a certain amount of its initial imagery. Already most present-day listeners receive their musical experience at third hand, through recordings and not through their own performance.

Thereby they lose the tactile contact, and even the visual contact, with the act of making music, to say nothing of the accumulated experience which alone puts some life into such things as scale passages. In this respect our choice of a well-known student piece brings our analysis closer home than would be the case with much instrumental music.

Further, the full social and historical setting of Mozart's music is not available to the present-day audience; it must be recaptured largely through wide readings and imaginative skill. The operas and concerts of Mozart's contemporaries and immediate predecessors supplied a store of conventions and associations which were significant in their own day to his audiences, but these conventions and associations are not so readily construed to-day, even with the best will. We no longer *live* Mozart's musical images. On the other hand Mozart had no call to write for posterity, such writing being the unrewarded illusion of a later and more self-conscious age. Hence he could not have considered providing us with the picturesque tourist guides so readily obtained for the musical merchandise of a century later.

Finally, the *genres* or functional types of late eighteenth-century music in Vienna are neither universal nor eternal, but highly specific, and while much of their flavour remains, large segments have become for us vague, general and identified by dating rather than by vibrant imagery. Thus we can usually spot a dance image in Mozart's music, when we are not distracted from it by tales of "pure" disembodied form, but we cannot always identify the type of dance, unless intellectually, nor is its feeling close to us visually or kinæsthetically, so that the audible realism is less distinct than it should be. In similar fashion the music of worship or of Masonic ritual of Mozart's time and locale is no longer with us, so that such associations as remain in his instrumental compositions are largely lost.

If, therefore, the musical imagery of Mozart is still strikingly plain and infinitely varied, and its interpretation remarkably direct and economical and lovely, once we free ourselves of the rather useless search for a verification of "pure forms", this can be due only to a richness and to a dexterity of thought that bespeaks a realistic bent and an insight into human character and into the life around him, and also a quick and sure grasp of every species of form-content used for communication in his day.

It is time that the problem of significant content in music were brought to a new level of discussion. The controversies of the late nineteenth century over "pure" music and "programme" music have shown themselves to be ultimately shallow, though each

position conveyed something of the truth within the narrow frame of music made for the concert market. The formalists are right to hold that any musical meaning must be contained in its form. They are wrong in defining form in a narrow, unphilosophical way; and in *mistaking what the content is for the way it is presented*. The verbose interpreters of "programmes" are right to hold that all music must have a content that transcends its sounding medium; they are wrong in defining this content in a narrow, unhistorical way, and in *separating what the content is from the way it is presented*.

For the art of music is unique in its inseparable integration of form and content. Its meaning does lie in its form, but it is not the same thing as the external mechanics of the form. The meaning is also different from the form, but it cannot be set apart from the way in which it is conveyed.

Realism in music consists in the reference of musical images to the human world in which these images arise. The image is at once form and meaning, shape and substance, manner and matter.

Realism in abstract music, or more exactly in the instrumental concert music of European culture of the past two centuries or so, arises in the formation of concrete musical images through experience, at first with non-concert functions of music and then with its own ingrown media. The high artistic aims evident during the mature period of this music, and the comprehensive range of associations made possible by its initially select and well-to-do audience, determine the power and also the character of the resulting works of art. The rich content of this instrumental music, as well as the emotional import of its flood of realizations, needed little comment in the eighteenth century, since its sources in experience with the social functions of daily musical activities were very close. Only when the initial impulse was diverted into the commercial enterprise of the later nineteenth-century concert were the desiccated images and their imported substitute-wares handed over the stage-apron, as over a counter, packaged as "forms" into which music was poured.

It would be too little to say that there is realism in abstract music. For the full flowering of musical realism is to be found in the great classics of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century instrumental concert music. For this music proceeded from a society that was passing through unprecedented expansion, both of resources and of humanist vision and had attained the highest level of technology, trade, national culture and social progress prior to their disappointing results and decline in the later nineteenth century and their catastrophic fall in our own era.

MUSIC AS A SPEECH CORRECTIVE

BY HERBERT STONELEY

THE teacher started it as a little joke, but now it is looked upon as a very fine thing indeed in our "B" stream classes, where we have found music of infinite value in such subjects as speech-training and verse-speaking.

Young John had a stammer. True, the school doctor said he would grow out of it in time; but that was little help to the teacher who, when it came to grammar lessons and speech-training, was under a decided disadvantage. John, when he had to read a sentence or tell his teacher the pronunciation of a word, always grew more than usually nervous, with the result that he would begin:

"Ah . . . ah . . . ah . . ." And the more his teacher encouraged him the more nervous he grew. One day, by chance, she hit on the grand speech-training method.

"What is the pronunciation of P-i-n-e, John?"

"P-p-p-p-p. . . . P-p-p-p-p-p. I-I-I-I-I. . . ."

To quell the rising volume of mirth in the class she flung an order to John. "Sing it, John," she said, and now the class broke into open merriment. But young John stuck to his guns. If he had not been so determined he would probably have had much less of a stammer. Anyway, there he was, singing the letters of the word "pine" to some tune which had been running through his small mind.

"P-I-N-E pine, P-I-N-E pine, P-I-N-E pine," sang John, but so clearly, so distinctly, as to put paid to the laughter. As for the teacher, she was determined to experiment further.

"Can you sing the pronunciation of 'J-E-S-T-E-R'?", she flung at him, trying him with a word which had driven the two of them nearly frantic only three days before. Without any pause John was demonstrating.

"J-E-S-T-E-R spells Jester, J-E-S-T-E-R spells Jester," he sang, as smoothly and easily as boys and girls slipping along a frozen pond in winter time; and so on with a number of other attempts. The method acted like a charm.

That was but the beginning of what we now call our musical experiment in speech-training and pronunciation. Our school is in the North-West mining area. We have all types of children to deal with, including a fair number of "B" stream children and

children of lesser streams. When the teacher had proved that her method was worth while she asked for permission to experiment with a whole class of these "B" streamers. Willing to try anything that might help them, the Head granted it.

And it worked just as well with all.

How? Why? Is it that there is more pleasure, generally speaking, in singing than in simply talking? Maybe it is more natural to sing than to talk. Animals sing; cats, dogs, wolves, donkeys and horses get closer to singing notes than to the spoken word. Anyway, our stammerers, bad articulators, those whose minds had been stumped by words strange and, for children, of hard pronunciation, all seemed to get into the way of grammar and speech far more easily by way of "singing it". Indeed, where simple monosyllables had previously been insuperable barriers, whole phrases were sung easily; and thence it was but a matter of gentle persuasion to steer the child from the notes to the spoken words.

No doubt there is nothing new in this method. Many know that King George VI was helped by a singing-teacher to combat his impediment. But all too many stammerers and backward speakers are still unaware of this means of mastering normal utterance. The cure takes time and requires ability. I suggest it as an activity for teachers of singing to cultivate. Not only as part of their ordinary routine of teaching-practice, along with theory and practice of music, but for that section of the community stricken with stammering and the majority of things known to most as defective articulation.

GLUCK'S 'ALCESTE'

BY MARGARET HASTINGS

THE performances of Gluck's 'Alceste' at Glyndebourne in the 1953 and 1954 seasons came as a timely reminder of the worth of this work, and the time may well be approaching when several of Gluck's operas will take their deserved place in the general repertory. But let us for the moment pay attention to 'Alceste' alone.

When Gluck first settled in Vienna operas such as Hasse's 'Leucippo', 'Antigono' and 'Demofoonte' (1748), though he employed horns, flutes, oboes and bassoons, had most of their numbers scored for strings only. Jommelli's Vienna operas and his use of the accompanied recitative were tentative and undramatic by comparison with Gluck's. One can thus only marvel at the distance travelled in some twenty to twenty-five years. What intricacy, what sensitivity there is here! Consider his use of the flute: that unearthly quality, used so incomparably in 'Orphée', so appropriate to the 'Air Pantomime' in Act I, Scene iii, caused a contemporary to remark on the "religious" quality of this movement, and underlining the pathos of the ritornello to "Ah! malgré moi" as no other instrument could.¹ Again, how particularly appropriate is the oboe to the ritornello of "Grands Dieux! du destin" and how incomparable is his choice of clarinets for "Bannis la crainte"; what delicacy and power there is in this score, which is always telling, yet in which the instruments are never over-worked, the score never stuffed with sound for its own sake! To those who are familiar with the score this hardly needs to be said; nor does it need saying that without Maio and Traetta—in particular without Traetta's 'Armide', which was given in Vienna in 1761, and his 'Ifigenia', given in Vienna in 1763 and conducted by Gluck at Florence in 1767—this work might not have been written, or at least might not have been the achievement which it became. When striking out on a new path, it is possible to do so alone; it is easier if one has the support of others, even if they dare not or cannot go as far on the same road.

Even if one agrees that the French version of 'Alceste' is the more acceptable, it presents some problems in editing, because there are three sources with some important differences between them:

¹ Berlioz said that Gluck, though he had at first written the ritornello for a flute, altered it later to the clarinet; but, as the editors of the Pelletan score point out, there is no justification for this statement in any of the sources.

Gluck's own manuscript score which he took with him to Paris; the engraved score, published by the Bureau d'Abonnement Musical at the end of 1776; and an early set of orchestral parts. The manuscript and the parts contain corrections in the hand of Francœur, conductor of the orchestra at the Paris Opéra from 1767 to 1781.

Both manuscript and engraved scores must be used with care, and it is the orchestral parts which often resolve difficulties that would otherwise remain puzzling. For example, in Alcestis's "Ah! malgré moi" in the second act, neither the manuscript score nor the Italian version indicates violas; in the engraved score they double the cello part at the octave, an arrangement which frequently brings them above the first violins in some part calling for no melodic prominence; the orchestral parts show them playing in unison with the second violins, an arrangement entirely suitable to this movement.

Frequently the directions in Gluck's score are far from clear. In the High Priest's recitative in Act I (at "se répand autour de moi") he gives oboes and flutes in unison, with long-held notes on the clarinets, but afterwards writes in "clarinetti: con i oboe" [*sic*], in such a way that it is impossible to know whether the clarinets are in unison with the flutes and oboes, or whether the oboes join the clarinets in their independent part. At the *fortissimo* he shows flutes and oboes in unison with the first violins, and an independent clarinet part. In Alcestis's "Non, ce n'est point un sacrifice" the clarinet stave is empty for the first five bars and has rests in the next twenty-five; only at the repetition of the theme is the indication "con oboe", and rests appear again in the F \sharp minor section. In the engraved score (and the orchestral parts) the clarinets do not appear until the return of the theme, at the point where they are first mentioned in the manuscript; but they continue throughout the F \sharp minor section, at the beginning of which, however, the separate oboe part bears the words "oboe soli". The chorus "Quel oracle" in Act I has three trombones doubling the three lower chorus parts, with oboes and clarinets doubling the upper part; but though the trombone parts were given in the orchestral parts, they were struck out again and not included in the engraved score.

At the greatest moments in the opera no alteration was made: they were upheld by the strength of Gluck's genius. Many others, indeed, remained with little alteration of the first (Italian) version, but other portions caused him some trouble. His original intention for the chorus "Que les plus doux transports" in Act II was to let it begin without ritornello, with each section sung twice by the

chorus. This was modified in the manuscript by Francœur's red pencil, indicating that the first appearance of the first section should be played by the orchestra as a ritornello. At the end of "Barbare! Non, sans toi, je ne puis vivre", after Alcestis's "Ah cher époux!", the return to the first theme has only six bars in the engraved score. The manuscript gives the whole of the thirty-two bars of the first section, and this version is retained in the orchestral parts. There is also a variant at the end of the chorus, in Scene IV, "Tant de graces", at "Et vous allez nous la ravir", made in red pencil in the manuscript score and kept in the engraved score.

Other changes—the reduction of the portions following "Ah! malgré moi", for example—may not have had Gluck's consent. In the manuscript score the section ran to some length, as follows (the later modifications were made as indicated):

- Alcestis's "Ah! malgré moi": 12 bars ritornello.
 42 bars first portion of aria.
 36 bars: 18 bars beginning "O ciel, quel supplice".
 10 bars ("Cet effort, ce tourment extrême").
 8 bars ("O ciel, quel supplice").
 15 bars "Cet effort, ce tourment extrême".
 Chorus: 18 bars, section beginning "Oh! que le songe de la vie".
 16 bars, section beginning "Alceste, si jeune, si belle".
 Alcestis: 18 bars ("O ciel, quel supplice").
 10 bars ("Cet effort, ce tourment extrême").³
 8 bars ("O ciel, quel supplice").³
 15 bars ("Cet effort, ce tourment extrême").³
 6 bars ritornello.⁴
 Chorus: 18 bars, beginning "Oh! que le songe de la vie".⁵

Later, Francœur's red pencil cut not only the repetition of the first part of the chorus, but the chorus itself and the repetition of Alcestis's *andante*. Meanwhile, the *andante* itself was subjected to further cuts, now following the modified plan which had been used in its repetition after the chorus.

The most radical changes come in Act III, and for the portions written by Gossec, Gluck's first thoughts have been lost. Four vital leaves are missing from the manuscript: three giving the end of the scene "des Enfers", after the chorus "L'Enfer parle", and the fourth giving the recitative for Apollo.

³ Omitted from orchestral parts and from engraved score.

⁴ Shown to be repeated in orchestral parts, but at the repetition given on orchestra only.

⁵ Shown to be repeated in engraved score.

⁶ Omitted from engraved score.

- Scene i. Évand're's recitative "Nous ne pouvons trop répandre des larmes" and the chorus "Pleure, ô patrie!" occurred originally after the scene "des Enfers".
- Scene ii. At the end of the chorus there is the note in Gluck's hand: "Hercule". *There is no further mention of Hercules in the manuscript score itself, in Gluck's hand, until the trio "Reçois, dieu bienfaisant".*
 "Après de long travaux"—Hercules: recitative.
 This recitative, not given in the manuscript, has been discovered on a separate leaf and is known to be by Gluck.
 The chorus is repeated once in the engraved score, twice in the manuscript.
 "C'est en vain que l'Enfer", also the preliminary recitative "Au pouvoir de l'amour", is by Gossec.
- Scene iii. "Grands Dieux! soutenez mon courage" was originally intended as Scene i. Cuts were made, not in Gluck's hand, in the manuscript, but the whole section was retained in the engraved score.
 Chorus: "Malheureuse! où vas-tu?"
 The manuscript had some recitative for Alcestis, and a repetition of the chorus. These were struck out of the manuscript and are not to be found in the engraved score; they were retained in the orchestral parts.
 "Ah! divinités implacables!". In the manuscript the second half, as well as the first, are repeated.
- Scene iv. Some minor alterations were made in the recitative.
 "Vis pour garder le souvenir".
 "Vivre sans toi! moi?" etc.
 "Alceste! au nom des Dieux!"
 "Je le sens, cher époux, tout mon cœur les partage".—these underwent no alteration.
 Duo, "Aux cris de la douleur". At the end of this there are some differences between the manuscript and the engraved score.
 "Caron t'appelle": after this the engraved score gives only six bars of recitative for Alcestis and Admetus; these are not used in the manuscript, but instead there are 14 bars of recitative and a *duo dialogué* "Et cruelle, tu veux renoncer à la vie?"
 This duo, in particular the last portion "Calme la douleur qui te presse", etc., is a great loss. At the end of this chorus came a recitative for Apollo. Only his first syllable and his name remain in the original manuscript. The *presto* at the end of the last chorus has two variants.
- Scene v. Hercules: "Ami, leur rage est vaine", and the chorus "Notre fureur est vaine": these are by Gossec.
 The scene originally contained the acclamation of the crowd and a recitative for Apollo, "Les Dieux, dont

la justice égale la puissance". It is not possible to reconstruct Gluck's original version.

- Scene vi. Recitative, Apollo addressing Hercules. This was one of the pieces rewritten by Gluck before his departure; it is on a separate leaf of manuscript, in Gluck's hand.
- Scene vii. End of the recitative, and the trio "Reçois, dieu bienfaisant". The original version, in the manuscript, was a duo for Alcestis and Admetus, with chorus. Gluck altered it in the manuscript, cutting 8 bars and writing in an extra part for Hercules. (The presence of Gluck's alteration in the manuscript dismisses Berlioz's supposition that this trio was by Gossec.)
- Scene viii. The opening recitative of this scene was originally intended to come before the trio. There were originally six, and not eight bars (the two extra bars are by Gluck, not Gossec).
 "Qu'ils vivent à jamais", the final chorus, had no alterations.

Gluck founded no school: his works continued to be discussed, and there is a reference to him by Le Clerc, a writer with a sociological bent, who claimed that the influence of Gluck's music accelerated public emotion towards the events of the Revolution:

... la musique aida la philosophie dans la préparation de ce moment glorieux. Antoinette, cédant à l'orgueil national, attira en France le célèbre Allemand qui créa chez nous la musique dramatique; en cela elle fit une imprudence. Ce n'est point une erreur de dire que la révolution opérée par Gluck dans la musique auroit dû faire trembler le gouvernement: ses accords vigoureux réveillèrent la générosité française; les âmes se retrempèrent, et firent voir une énergie qui éclata bientôt après; le trône fut ébranlé;

but though his works continued to be played regularly in Paris until the 1820s, he had no imitators.

That Gluck's expression of the passions may still seem to some externalized and generalized is due to our being still under the shadow of the nineteenth century, its religiosity, its sentimentality, its subjectivity. The events of the past twenty years, in the international field, have undermined the bases on which that attitude rests, and to those of us who passed our most malleable years under the pressure of these events this opinion of Gluck will not seem valid. Furthermore, the general public, submitted to causes which it cannot control and subject to a destiny beyond individual decision, may well find the Greek drama peculiarly sympathetic. So at this time—and at a time, moreover, when it has become fashionable for musicians to be intelligent—a revival of Gluck's works may well be peculiarly appropriate.

In view of this situation it is surprising that so little should have appeared in print in English concerning the first Paris performances of 'Alceste'. Let us examine the material, which falls into two parts: that which fills in the background and outlines the circumstances of the early performances in the summer of 1776, and that which refers to the alterations made in the music of the French version itself, as distinct from the differences between the French and Italian versions.

The chief sources are 'Mémoires Secrets',⁶ a work published anonymously and arranged in the form of a diary, covering the years 1762-1784; the volumes for the first eight years consist of the diary entries of a certain M. Bachaumont, and this method was followed by the editors. Another useful publication is 'Correspondance Secrète, Politique et Littéraire, ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Cours, des Sociétés et de la Littérature en France, depuis la mort de Louis XV', which was published in London in 1787 and covered the years 1774-1785. This purports to be a collection of letters written by men of fashion and men of letters, some of which had already been in submerged circulation in a periodical publication, 'Correspondance littéraire secrète'. Other valuable material is to be found in the memoirs and published correspondence of the men of letters in Paris: e.g. La Harpe's 'Correspondance' and Grimm's 'Correspondance littéraire'; Marmontel's memoirs give a good picture of the general trend of events, but give no dates and are marred by conceit.

The men with whom Gluck associated in Paris were the men of letters; a personal friend was Franz Kruthoffer, a secretary to the ambassador Count Mercy-Argenteau.

In the preface to Arnaud's collected works Suard writes:

Le nom de l'abbé Arnaud était entièrement inconnu dans la littérature, lorsqu'en 1754 il publia sa 'Lettre sur la Musique', adressée au comte de Caylus. Cette lettre fit une impression extraordinaire . . . ; . . . le mélange d'imagination et d'érudition qui distinguait cet écrit, des couleurs brillantes du style, du ton animé et sensible dont on y parlait des arts, et des lumières nouvelles qu'un auteur inconnu promettait de répandre sur l'histoire et la théorie de la musique ancienne, sujet encore couvert de ténèbres impénétrables malgré les travaux d'un grand nombre de savans.⁸

⁶ Mémoires Secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la République des Lettres en France, depuis MDCCLXII jusqu'à nos jours; ou Journal d'un Observateur, Contenant les Analyses des Pièces de Théâtre qui ont paru durant cet intervalle; les Relations des Assemblées Littéraires; les notices de Livres nouveaux, clandestins, prohibés; les Pièces fugitives, rares ou manuscrites, en prose ou en vers, les Vaudevilles sur la Cour; les Anecdotes & Bon Mots; les Eloges des Savans, des Artistes, des Hommes de Lettres morts, etc. etc. A Londres, Chez John Adamson, 1780-1789.

⁷ Preface to Arnaud, 'Œuvres complètes', Vol. I, p. 6.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

Suard did not meet Arnaud until 1759, when the latter dined at the house of one of Suard's friends. Meanwhile, 'Le Journal étranger', begun in 1754, had gradually lost favour under a succession of editors (Prévost, Querlon, Fréron), and in 1759 Arnaud obtained the privilege and became editor in collaboration with Suard. In 1762 Arnaud was persuaded to undertake the 'Gazette de France'; and a new journal was begun, the 'Gazette Littéraire de l'Europe'. He became a member of the Académie in May 1771. Gluck had an introduction to Arnaud when he went to Paris in 1773.

Arnaud's volatile character did not allow him to bear without comment slights on a man whom he regarded both as a friend and an artist:

... l'ennemi de Gluck lui paraissait son ennemi et les critiques de ce qu'il admirait blessaient son cœur encore plus que son amour-propre. . . . Dominé par la sensibilité et la fougue de son imagination, il se laissait aisément emporter par l'impétuosité de ses premiers mouvements.⁹

Suard, being calmer in disposition and younger in years, made an admirable foil for his friend Arnaud. Mme. Suard writes of him:

M. Suard vivoit dans la société de madame Geoffrin, du Baron d'Holbach et d'Helvétius, qui rassembloient tout ce que Paris offroit d'hommes éclairés, savants et aimables: les Buffon, les d'Alembert, les Diderot, les Marmontel; tout les étrangers distingués par leur esprit et leur talents: les Hume, les Sterne, les Garrick et les nobles étrangers qui aimoient la société des hommes instruits, tel que le duc de Bragance, qui goûta beaucoup M. Suard. On y rencontroit aussi plusieurs ambassadeurs aussi aimables que spirituels, tel que milord Stormont, qu'on appeloit avec raison le *beau milord*, le comte de Creutz, ambassadeur de Suède, d'une imagination méridionale, aimant passionnément les beaux-arts et sur-tout la musique, le baron de Gleken, qui parloit peu, mais disoit avec promptitude des mots aussi justes que piquants.¹⁰

This company was gathered together twice a week either by Helvetius or Baron Holbach.

"C'est peu de temps après notre mariage que mademoiselle de l'Espinasse vint loger dans la même maison que M. d'Alembert."¹¹ Mlle. l'Espinasse took an interest in the young man, a fact which excited the jealousy of Mme. Geoffrin. Later Suard and his wife moved to a house in the Rue Louis-le-Grand, where Arnaud joined them.

Suard contributed to the 'Journal de Paris', under the pseudonym of "l'Anonyme de Vaugirard"; his articles "étaient

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁰ 'Essais de Mémoires sur M. Suard' (1820), pp. 43-44.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

dirigées contre la Harpe, qui rédigeait alors l'article des Spectacles dans le *Mercure de France*".¹² Suard was made a member of the Académie in 1774.

La Harpe had little knowledge of music, a fact which did not prevent him from contributing articles on opera to the '*Mercure de France*'. "M. de la Harpe avoit sans doute des organes heureux pour la sentir, mais il étoit aussi ignorant qu'eux sur cet art."¹³ "Cet écrivain portait dans la littérature un esprit net et juste, un goût sain et formé sur les bons modèles; mais il se laissait trop souvent égarer dans ses jugemens par ses préventions et ses haines, et par l'intolérable présomption qui lui était naturelle."¹⁴

Marmontel, "qui n'avait pas plus de théorie musicale que la Harpe, publia une brochure *sur les révolutions de la musique*, dans laquelle il attaqua Gluck avec peu de ménagement, et prétendit prouver que tout l'art de la musique dramatique consistait presque uniquement à composer des airs, et à leur donner une forme périodique modelée sur les airs italiens".¹⁵

His publications were innumerable. He started young on a literary career, and thus seems to belong more to the generation of Grimm and Diderot, and was indeed one of that circle who contributed articles to the '*Encyclopédie*'. He had been made a member of the Académie in 1763 and edited the '*Mercure de France*' from 1758 to 1764. Through Mme. Geoffrin he became acquainted with the Abbé Galiani, the Marquis of Caraccioli, later ambassador from Naples, and Count de Creutz, the Swedish minister.

It was in 1776 that the Académiciens, the men of letters—indeed, all Paris—began to be divided over the merits of Gluck's music; though it was not until the following year, after the appearance of the '*Journal de Paris*', that the full tide of pamphlets, letters, &c., began to flow. "Les affaires d'État cèdent le pas aujourd'hui, Monsieur, dans les conversations, à celles de l'opéra, et l'*Alceste* de M. Gluck donné tout récemment, occasionne des dissertations à l'infini."¹⁶ By 26 May "*Le succès d'*Alceste* va toujours crescendo*".¹⁷ In the summer of 1776 the Abbé Arnaud produced his '*La Soirée perdue à l'Opéra*'. Written in the form of a dialogue, and with enthusiasm, this may well have fostered additional interest in the work.

Although the differences between the Italian and French versions of '*Alceste*' are well known, there appears to be no reference

¹² Preface to Arnaud, '*Œuvres complètes*', Vol. I. p. 23.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

¹⁴ Arnaud, '*Œuvres complètes*', *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁶ '*Correspondance secrète*', Vol. III. p. 60, 2 May.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. III. p. 77.

in print in English to the alterations which were made in the French version. The work was first performed in Paris on 23 April 1776 (*not* "représenté pour la première fois par l'Académie Royale de Musique le 30 Avril 1776"). The following extracts appear in 'Mémoires Secrets' (after the first performance): 'L'Épouse expire d'abord, l'Époux se tue, le Peuple revient encore et gémit sur leur sort et sur le sien; Apollon paroît dans un char de gloire avec Admète et Alceste qu'il rend à leur sujets.'

[3 May] On travaille à réparer les défauts d'*Alceste*; et pour jeter dans le troisième acte plus de variété, il est question d'y introduire un *Hercule*, personnage nécessaire à l'action, suivant la fable: mais il sera difficile que cette interpolation s'accorde avec les deux premiers actes, et, en général, tout ouvrage ainsi refait de pièces et de morceaux est toujours médiocre. [6 May] C'est demain qu'on attend les changemens d'*Alceste*.

[12 May] On a enfin introduit vendredi à l'Opéra un rôle d'*Alcide* dans *Alceste*. La chambre étoit nombreuse relativement à ce changement qu'on attendoit depuis plusieurs représentations. Le parti du Chevalier Gluck avoit amené un renfort d'auxiliaires; mais le Poème ni la Musique n'y ont rien gagné au gré des adversaires et les admirateurs sincères de l'ouvrage de cet Allemand le préfèrent dans l'ancien costume.

The following appeared in 'Mémoires Secrets', dated 3 June 1776:

Comme l'on est sans cesse à retoucher le troisième acte d'*Alceste*, que le Chevalier Gluck est trop éloigné pour qu'on reçoive ses corrections, les Régisseurs actuels ont eu recours au Sr. Gossec [*sic*], musicien renommé dans l'harmonie d'église, genre triste et lugubre, analogue à celui de nouvel Opéra.

Gluck, back in Vienna, oppressed by the death of his niece, appears to have been indifferent to the alterations made by Gossec: "das wenige was H: Gosseck [*sic*] mag darzu gemacht haben kan von keiner consequence seyn, dieses wird die Opera nicht besser und nicht schlimmer machen, weilen Es das Ende darvon ist"¹⁸; moreover, he had with him the libretti of 'Armide' and 'Roland'.

According to 'Mémoires Secrets' (the entry for 29 May) "Alceste ne prenant point", it was intended that it should be replaced by Floquet's 'L'Union de l'Amour et des Arts'. 'Alceste' does not, however, appear to have been taken off. We find in the 'Mercure de France' for June 1776: "L'Académie royale se dispose de donner incessamment l'*Union de l'Amour et des Arts*, musique de M. Floquet et de jouer cet Opéra alternativement avec celui d'*Alceste*; en attendant les *Romans*, nouveaux fragmens en trois actes, dont la musique est de M. Cambini", and Grimm writes:

¹⁸ See 'Glucks Briefe an Franz Kruthoffer', ed. Kinsky (Vienna 1927), Letter 6.

"L'Académie Royale de Musique, qui depuis trois mois n'ayant cessé de donner *Alceste* ou *l'Union de l'Amour et des Arts*, a remis, ces jours passés, un ancien ballet héroïque du sieur de Bonneval, intitulée *les Romans*. On a été obligé de retirer l'ouvrage après la troisième représentation."¹⁹

At the performance on 30 July, advertised as the last, "le vœu du public s'y est manifesté d'une manière bien glorieuse pour l'auteur; à la fin on a redemandé cet opéra avec des assurances et des acclamations soutenues pendant plus d'un demi-quart d'heure. Ce qui est contre l'usage de ce Spectacle où le Parterre ne s'exprime jamais aussi expressément".²⁰ Cambini's '*Les Romans*' was put on on 4 August, but survived only four performances; at the time of its first performance the public were still demanding '*Alceste*'. In the middle of August performances began again of '*Alceste*' and '*L'Union de l'Amour et des Arts*'.

Meanwhile, on 7 July was the first performance of '*La Bonne Femme*', the parody of '*Alceste*', by the Comédiens Italiens.

So the summer wore on. Mlle. Arnoult, whose place as the leading singer had been taken by Mlle. Le Vasseur, continued to canvass against her new rival, but brought upon herself nothing but disfavour. "Les François si galans, ne sont pas, comme vous voyez, indulgens pour les vieilles femmes qui ont cessées de leur plaire."

The reference in '*Mémoires Secrets*' for 15 September 1776 is a little puzzling: "M. le Chevalier Gluck, qui avoit été extrêmement sensible au mépris affecté que les jaloux témoignent dans les commencemens contre son *Alceste*, est bien dédommagé aujourd'hui par l'empressement général et soutenu à s'y rendre. Il étoit hier à la trente-huitième Représentation": for he wrote on 30 June from Vienna to Kruthoffer in Paris (enclosing a letter to Berton) and again on 29 August (asking when the score of '*Alceste*' would be ready); neither of these letters, nor that of 30 September, give any indication of a visit to Paris. (The matter of the letter of 30 September is indeed a continuation of the previous letter.) A '*Lettre de M. le Chevalier Gluck aux musiciens composant l'orchestre de l'Opéra*', dated "Vienne, le 14 Août 1776", urging them to support Cambini's '*Les Romans*', appears in '*Correspondance secrète*', Vol. III, pp. 280-81.

The first reference to a charge of plagiarism made against Gluck during the summer of 1776 appears in a letter of Framery, here translated from the '*Mercure de France*' of September 1776:

¹⁹ Grimm, '*Correspondance littéraire*', Vol. III, p. 208 (20 August 1776).

²⁰ '*Mémoires Secrets*', Vol. IX, p. 176 (31 July 1776).

Sir,

I do not know whether you know anything about a short article entitled 'La Soirée perdue à l'Opéra'. In it there is a certain phrase which seems to have attracted the attention of the public. It is the only one that interests me and the only one to which I shall attach importance; here it is:

"Here is a most pleasant chorus (says an Interlocutor) but it has been taken from the opera 'Golconde'.—Just a moment, Sir; at the end of Act II there is one of the most beautiful melodies that has ever been heard in any Lyric Theatre and in this melody the most happy and pathetic modulation which art has ever borrowed from nature and—in short—the same accent, the same characteristics are found in Sacchini's 'Olimpiade'. But you must know that that of 'Alceste' had been conceived—even born—a long time before the appearance of Sacchini's 'Olimpiade' and the opera 'Golconde'; i.e. it had been staged, engraved and published. Oh! you do not know how poor Gluck has been robbed: it was found, with good reason, that it was much easier to borrow than to imitate", etc.

Is it not true, Sir, that when one openly accuses a man like Sacchini of taking a passage from a man like Gluck, one must be quite sure of one's facts?

I know that the Italian 'Alceste' was presented about 12 years ago in the little theatre at Bologna. I, together with the whole of Italy, do not know whether this opera has been engraved—that is not usual in that country; but if it has been, or if it has only been published, there is nothing simpler than convincing Sacchini of the crime with which he is being reproached. Let the original melody of Gluck be published in France (I shall pay the cost of publication, if necessary) and then it will be shown that Sacchini, forgetting his reputation firmly established throughout Europe, has falsely passed himself off as the creator of a mode of expression which belonged to another opera performed in a small town.

A slight exposure of historic truth would perhaps explain plenty of things. At the end of the season in 1773, Sacchini, being in London, was commissioned to arrange a *pasticcio* of the 'Olimpiade'—that is an opera of pieces by different authors. Millico who played the part of Mégacle asked the maestro to give him one of his tunes for the famous words: "se cerca, se dice", etc. Sacchini had already written an 'Olimpiade' in Rome and another in Milan; but as the Italian composers are not in the habit of keeping their music (even less so, that of other people) Sacchini quickly wrote the tune in question, which is written in a clear, simple, touching style—in short, in a manner entirely different from that of the melody of 'Alceste': but the theme is found there. Millico, delighted with the melody and with his success comes to Paris, stays with his friend Gluck, sings this scene wherever Gluck takes him, makes Mlle. Gluck sing it and goes to Vienna with them. But, Sir, you must know that the French 'Alceste' is quite different from the Italian one as far as the music is concerned. Nearly all the melodies have been rewritten. Therefore it is likely that 'Alceste' was written a long time before the 'Olimpiade'.

Every workman knows the work of his trade. I parody themes

and I seem to know what I am doing. I therefore take for granted, without fear of being contradicted, that the tune in question was written to words. A parodied theme does not have this cut, this style. It is practically impossible to be mistaken.

Would people disbelieve me? I have given the means: let the original tune be engraved, if it exists.

If Gluck is the hero of the anonymous writer, Sacchini is mine. It is my duty to defend him when he is not in a position to do it himself: his reputation is worth enough to me to continue to uphold it. I have sacrificed late nights and the little pretension which I might have had to talent in 'La Colonie'²¹; a sacrifice which I make today in all respects in the 'Olympiade'²². One cannot imagine the difficulty in the task I have undertaken; and when this difficulty is overcome, I shall have done everything in my power for Sacchini's reputation and nothing for my own. I shall always flee from reproaches, especially with regard to style, because all the trouble I have taken moreover counts for nothing. But I shall console myself with the pleasure of having made it possible to hear real music in our great theatre.

It is not generous of the anonymous writer to try in advance to prejudice the public about a work which has not yet been submitted to their judgement.

I am, Sir, etc.

FRAMERY.

There is about all this an air of impertinence on which the editor remarks when he includes it in his 'Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Révolution opérée dans la Musique par M. le Chevalier Gluck'.

Gluck's reply appeared in the 'Mercure de France' of November 1776:

Il y a dans le Mercure de France du mois de Sept. 1776 une lettre d'un certain sieur Framery, au sujet de M. Sacchini, lequel seroit fort à plaindre, s'il avoit besoin d'un tel défenseur pour soutenir sa réputation. Presque tout ce que M. Framery s'avise de dire sur M. Gluck, sur M. Sacchini est faux. L'Alceste Italienne de M. Gluck n'a jamais été représentée ni à Bologne ni en aucune autres Villes d'Italie, à cause de la difficulté de l'exécution si M. Gluck n'est pas présent pour guider son ouvrage.

Il ne l'a donnée qu'à Vienne en Autriche en 1768. A la reprise de cet Opéra, le sieur Millico chanta dans le rôle d'Admète. Il est vrai que M. Sacchini a inséré le passage contesté dans son air: "Se cerca, se dice"; et cette phrase musicale se trouve dans l'Alceste italienne de M. Gluck: "Ah! per questo già stanco mio cuore", imprimé à Vienne en 1769; nous dirons de plus qu'il y a un autre

²¹ 'La Colonie. Opéra comique en Deux Actes, Imité de l'Italien et Parodié sur la Musique de Sgr. Sacchini, Représenté pour la 1^{re} fois par les Comédiens Italiens Ordinaires du Roi le 16 Aout 1775. Et à Fontainebleau devant leur Majestés, le 4 Novembre.'

²² 'L'Olympiade, ou le Triomphe de l'Amitié . . . Représenté pour le Premier fois par les Comédiens Italiens Ordinaires du Roi le 2 Octobre 1777, et à Fontainebleau devant leur Majestés le 24 du même mois.'

passage sur la fin du même air, pris de Paride ed Helena, de l'air: "Di scordami", imprimé aussi à Vienne. M. Framery ne sait pas qu'un Compositeur italien est très-souvent forcé de s'accomoder au caprice et à la voix du Chanteur et c'est le sieur Millico qui a obligé M. Sacchini à insérer les susdites phrases dans son air; c'est ce que M. Gluck lui-même a reproché à son ami Millico: car alors M. Gluck n'avoit pas encore donné son *Alceste* à Paris, mais il avoit l'idée de l'y donner. M. Sacchini, génie comme il est, et plein de belles idées, n'a pas besoin de piller les autres, mais il a été assez complaisant envers le Chanteur pour emprunter ces Passages, où le Chanteur croyoit qu'il brilleroit le plus. La réputation de M. Sacchini est établie depuis longtemps: elle n'a nullement besoin d'être sauvée: mais peut-être qu'on la diminue en parodiant ses airs faits pour la Langue Italienne, sur des paroles Françaises, vu la différence entre les deux mélodies et les deux prosodies. M. Framery, comme homme de lettres, pourroit bien faire quelque chose de mieux, que de confondre ainsi le caractère national des Français et des Italiens, et de mettre en usage une Musique hermaphrodite, en parodiant des airs qui, quoique soufferts dans l'Opéra-Comique, ne sont pas convenables pour les grands Opéras.

There are differences between the manuscript score and the engraved score; the orchestral parts differ from both. The Pelletan score appeared in 1874:

La question importante des documents nous a conduits à négliger l'ordre chronologique, dans notre publication des œuvres de Gluck. Désireux d'établir autant que possible notre texte musical sur une base solide nous avons dû commencer par nous occuper des ouvrages dont nous possédions les matériaux les plus sûrs. Nous avons par cette raison ajourné la publication d'*Alceste*; *Alceste*, de toutes les partitions de Gluck celle qui a eu le plus à souffrir des négligences et de caprices de chacun, et qui se trouvait dans un état de désordre auquel on ne pouvoit remédier qu'appuyé sur les autorités les plus incontestables. Nous ne reconnaissons point ce caractère dans les documents que nous offraient les Archives de l'Opéra; et nous ne pouvions nous décider à passer outre; sachant surtout que le manuscrit autographe de l'*Alceste* française existait à Paris.

This score is based on the manuscript score. Consultation has also been made with the orchestral parts and the engraved score which appeared in Paris at the end of 1776. ("Cependant nous trouvons dans cette partition la forme définitivement adoptée du troisième acte.") Deviations in these from the manuscript score are noted in the preface to the Pelletan score. In certain cases the indications in the parts or in the engraved score are adopted in preference to those in the manuscript; e.g. there are in the manuscript no tempo indications, in Gluck's hand, in the overture: the indications given are "Sans lenteur", followed by "Pressez", and are in the familiar red pencil of Francœur, conductor of the orchestra

at the Opéra from 1767 to 1781; the indications *Lent*, followed by *Andante*, of the orchestral parts, have therefore been preferred. (The indications in the engraved score are "Lentement" and "Andante", not indicated in the Pelletan edition.) Minor points of orchestration occur, e.g. the disposition of the flutes in the first "air-pantomime".

Cuts were made in the manuscript score; and these portions, eradicated by the familiar red pencil, were omitted from the engraved score; an example of this is the "Choeur des Dieux Infernaux" in the third act, which is given in full in the Pelletan score. This originally contained the first fifteen bars, followed by recitative for Alcestis and a repetition of the music of the first fifteen bars of the chorus, to new words. This recitative and subsequent chorus was cut in the manuscript, and these portions do not appear in the engraved score; the justification for their inclusion in the main body of the Pelletan score appears to be that they were to be found in the orchestral parts. Another example is a recitative for Admetus and a duet for him and Alcestis. These were replaced in the engraved score by an extremely short piece of recitative.

No comment appears to have been made in English on the changes in the third act which have been attributed to Gossec. Gluck himself recast the section beginning "Reçois, dieu bien-faisant", originally a duet with chorus, adding a bass part for Hercules. The fact that this was written in, in Gluck's hand, on the manuscript, dismisses Berlioz's supposition it was by Gossec. The original version is given in the appendix to the Pelletan score. The duet for Hercules and Admetus, and the subsequent chorus (Scene v in the Pelletan score and the engraved score) do not appear in the manuscript score and have been attributed to Gossec. The recitative for Apollo Gluck recast after he returned to Vienna; it is inserted, in Gluck's hand but on a different page, into the manuscript score. Gluck's manuscript ends with the final chorus. In the engraved score two of the final six divertissements are incomplete. The editors of the Pelletan score were fortunate in their discovery, in the Opéra Archives, of a separate, complete score of the divertissements, bearing the familiar markings in red pencil, and two words in the handwriting of Gluck. Two additional dances, there included but omitted from the engraved score, are given in the supplement to the Pelletan score.

The engraved score was advertised in the 'Mercure de France' of December 1776: "*La partition d'Alceste*, musique par M. le Chevalier Gluck, prix 24 livres, au Bureau d'abonnement Musical, rue du Hazard Richelieu". The "airs détachés", however, were advertised in the 'Mercure de France' for June.

A LONDON CHURCH IN EARLY TUDOR TIMES

BY HUGH BAILLIE

THE medieval accounts of the churchwardens of St. Mary-at-Hill, Billingsgate, were transcribed and edited in 1905 by Henry Littlehales and published by the Early English Text Society. They cover the years 1420 to 1559, with one or two lamentable gaps, and Littlehales transcribed all the most important entries. This excellent but little-known compilation provides us with a wealth of valuable information about the day-to-day life of a London parish church, and it includes many details about the church's musicians and their activities. It is possible that musical life at St. Mary's was not altogether typical of the average London city church—one or two special opportunities were offered to St. Mary's for exceptional musical expansion—but there can be little doubt that the piety, pride and wealth of the City were reflected not only in the rich furnishings and generous endowments of its churches but also in their music.

Though the records of St. Mary's begin in 1420, they contain no mention of polyphonic music until 1478.¹ In this year the Feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated with unusual splendour: an outside organist (Walter Plesaunce) was specially engaged for the occasion at a fee of sixpence, and four choristers came over from the nearby church of St. Magnus, each receiving a penny reward for his pains. Corpus Christi Day was only one of seven great feasts celebrated at St. Mary's; the accounts for 1491 list the others as Christmas Day, the Twelfth Day of Christmas, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, St. Barnabas's Day (11 June), and the Feast of the Assumption. It is clear that for most of these feasts extra musicians were hired by the church during the years 1480 to 1550.

The employment of "extras" on feast days led to a happy and profitable association which probably did much to increase the musical standing of the church. Usually only one or two extra musicians were engaged, but on St. Barnabas's Day 1510 we find

¹ Where an entry from the records has been quoted, the text has usually been transcribed into its modern English form. The records of this and other churches of the period run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. To avoid clumsiness the second figure has usually been used here, when the actual date is not given. But "Christmas 1500-1501" has naturally been taken to mean Christmas 1500. I have extensively consulted (a) Fellowes's 'English Cathedral Music', (b) Pine's 'The Westminster Abbey Singers' and (c) Davey's 'History of English Music'. I am grateful to L. S. Colchester for information about Wells Cathedral.

the "singers of the King's chapel" singing at St. Mary's. After service, lavish supplies of food and drink were provided for the singers "at Mr. Sidborough's". John Sidborough was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal—his name appears in lists of the Chapel in 1509 and 1520—and we come across him and other members of the Chapel Royal quite frequently in these records. In 1510 St. Mary's sued a bell-founder who had failed to fulfil a contract to provide a new bell; the Lord Chief Justice and another judge presided, and "Mr. Kyte" and "Mr. Sidboroough" were entertained to a sumptuous dinner when they assisted in the arbitration. John Kyte was then a senior chaplain in the Chapel Royal, a man of consequence who was later to become Bishop of Armagh. The following year members of the Chapel Royal twice came to sing in the church. On the first occasion Mr. Kyte and Mr. Cornysh were entertained to a fish dinner "in Mr. Alderman's place", and on the other a similar repast was provided at Mr. Sidborough's for Mr. Kyte and "Harry Prentes". "Mr. [William] Cornysh", the great composer of the time, was Master of the Children of the Chapel. Prentes is less well known, though he was a Gentleman of the Chapel in 1511; and there are settings of 'Magnificat' by both Cornysh and Prentes in the 'Caius Choir Book'.

It is not difficult to see how this valuable association with the Chapel Royal arose. The Gentlemen were free to take outside engagements when they were not required by the king², and since Sidborough lived in the parish of St. Mary's he would naturally have invited some of his colleagues to sing in his own church. The parish evidently thought well of him: in 1513 he and two other parishioners held voice-trials for the appointment of a new lay-clerk and the parish paid the expenses of their entertainment. And he was no doubt the "Master Sudbury" who witnessed the Churchwardens' accounts for the past year on 14 January 1514. This is the last reference to Sidborough, but members of the Chapel continued to come and sing at St. Mary's and they were always well entertained with food and wine. They were there on Corpus Christi Day 1521; on St. Barnabas's Day 1523 (when they were regaled at the Sun Tavern); and during 1525, when two of the singers were (John) Tyll and (William) Colman. During the same year "Mr. [John] Gyles of the Chappell" sang at Lady Mass on two occasions. On some unspecified occasion in 1528 ninepence was paid "at the Sun tavern for the drinking of Mr. Colmas [William Colman] with others of the kinges chapple that had

² For another example see J. Christie, 'Some Account of Parish Clerks . . . the Ancient Fraternity of St. Nicholas . . .' (1893). Before the annual dinner of the fraternity Mass was sung, sometimes by members of the Chapel Royal.

sungen in the churche". The next record of their visits is in the reign of Queen Mary (1553): "payed to the gentyllmen of the Qwenes chapell for syngynge a mas here the xjth. day of November, St. Martin's day."

The importance of all this information is obvious. The professional singers of the Chapel Royal were available for free-lance employment whenever they were not required by the king. Moreover, though the large-scale choral music of this time was mainly written for cathedrals and royal establishments where the choir was itself large, yet this same up-to-date music was at times performed in quite modest buildings. We shall see that St. Mary-at-Hill had its own musical repertory for performance at Mass on other occasions than the major feast days. No doubt this local repertory was more modest in its proportions and in its demands on the performers than the surviving large-scale music of men like Cornysh or Fayrfax. Yet, though this simpler repertory may well have been more suited to a parish church, it is hard now to believe that it was necessarily old-fashioned or "provincial" in style.

As music became increasingly important in the services of the church, so do entries in the accounts show the growing importance of the organ. As early as 1496 St. Mary-at-Hill had two organs, the smaller one being in the choir. From time to time these were repaired, moved about and rebuilt. An organ builder was an important man, paid an annual retainer by the parish in addition to his charges for special repairs or alterations. Only two organ builders' names occur in the accounts, and as they also appear in the contemporary accounts of other London churches, these men were probably at the head of their profession. First, Michael Gloucester: his name is found at St. Mary's in 1478 when he undertook minor repairs, though three years earlier he did some organ repairs for St. Michael's, Cornhill, and in those records his name appears as "Myghell Glaucets". Gloucester lived in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill; he rented a house from the church at sixpence a week, and he probably died in 1487, since his house then fell vacant. Earlier, in the year 1449-50, a Michael of Gloucester was repairing the organs of Wells Cathedral, and he may well have moved to London from the west country. Michael himself was the successor of John of Gloucester, who built and looked after organs at Wells from 1414 to 1417. Perhaps we may here detect the growing prosperity of a family trade.

The name of John Howe, the second organ builder, first occurs in 1501; there is then no specific mention of him until 1525 when he received his annual fee of one shilling, but it is quite clear that he

and his family were in charge of the organs at St. Mary's for more than fifty years. Howe was the most important organ builder in England throughout this period, and W. L. Sumner has shown, in his book 'The Organ', that Howe was responsible for the care of at least twenty-six organs including those of churches as distant from London as York and Coventry.

Howe received a retaining fee from St. Mary-at-Hill, and in 1533 this is described as a "reward for tuning of the pipes". For most of the period the fee was a shilling a year, though in 1553 this rose to three shillings, possibly because the accession of Queen Mary put a great deal of extra work upon the organ builder in putting in order the many instruments that had fallen into disuse during the previous reign.

The organs appear to have been completely replaced more than once during our period but, surprisingly, there is no entry giving the full cost of a new pair. The little organ in the choir broke down a number of times and when this happened just before St. Barnabas's Day 1520, a pair had to be borrowed from the neighbouring church of St. Andrew (Hubbard) whither they were returned after use. Two years later one pair was so badly damaged that it had to be taken away for repair; on this occasion the organ maker was paid the large sum of 10s. 8d., and this included the cost of carriage. By 1527 the little organ had doubtless been replaced, for Howe bought "the old portatives in the choir" for 26s. 8d. It is interesting to note the direct intervention of the organist in the specification of the organs; there is an entry in 1525 which reads: "paid to the organ maker for mending the organs according to the mind of Mr. Northfolke and at his device . . . ijs".

By 1500 the organ was just beginning to assert its importance in the services of the church; from about the same time the organist, also, was coming to the fore, and by 1550 one or two distinguished musicians had filled the post. There may sometimes have been a regular organist even before 1500, but one of the lay-clerks often did the work and on certain occasions an outsider was called in. The first recorded payment was, as we have already noticed, in 1478, to Walter Plesaunce. In 1501 "lenard" was engaged to sing and play the organs for the twelve days of Christmas. In 1509 an anonymous musician was hired to play at the Feast of the Assumption. In 1510 we come to the first salaried organist: Sir William Bryse, a priest, received 10s. above his normal salary for playing the organs during the year, while in January the same year Lawrence Swayne became regular organist. He stayed for nearly two and a half years and received £2 a year for "keeping the

organs". His departure caused a crisis, and one of the lay-clerks had to stand in as organist over Easter 1513. A new man, Robert Claver—he is described as clerk, though he must have played the organs as well as carrying out his duties as a singer—was engaged, and this was the occasion when Mr. Sidborough assisted in the examination of candidates.

For the next ten years, until 1523, no new organist is mentioned in the accounts; in that year John Northfolke was engaged to help in the choir and play the organs over Christmas. He did not leave the church, however, until after Christmas six years later, and by this time the musical life of the church had made great advances. Northfolke very quickly founded a choir school, and during his six years at the church there the records are filled with evidence of his manifold activities as choirmaster, schoolmaster and all-round musician. His salary was 10s. a year, but this appears to have been privately augmented by the rector; and he was adept at obtaining allowances from the church funds for special purposes. Thus, when the rector granted the choir a week's holiday in 1524 (it was called a "playing week"), Northfolke received 3s. 4d. for them to "make merry"; and when there was another "playing week" after the following Christmas, he again obtained 3s. 4d. "for to sport them". Northfolke was evidently in charge of the choir, for when substitutes had to be found to replace absenting choirmen, it was through Northfolke that they were rewarded for their services and no doubt he engaged them as well. He was certainly a most energetic man, for besides running the school, playing and superintending the upkeep of the organs, and leading the choir, he provided music books for the singers, and even on occasion earned considerable sums repairing volumes from the church library.

The choir school was evidently confined to a single room, a "chamber in the Abbot's Inn". This hostelry was church property and Northfolke must have been dismayed when he was charged the schoolroom's rent of 6s. 8d. This was soon remitted, however, and the annual remission is recorded for several successive years. We do not know where he found his choristers but we know they were competent, for there is a curious note in the accounts shortly after the school started: "paid to Bright [one of the lay clerks] for riding to the Moore to Mr. Parson [the rector] for to speak to my lord Cardinall for the taking of the children . . . 3s. 4d.". This entry probably refers to the practice of impressing children from provincial and parochial choirs for royal or cathedral choirs. Only six musical establishments were granted absolute immunity; they were the

Chapel Royal, St. George's Windsor, King's College Cambridge, Eton College, St. Stephen's Westminster and Cardinal Wolsey's Chapel; and these also possessed the right of impressment.³ It was a right that was much resented by smaller bodies; on one occasion Wells Cathedral lost its best chorister in this way, and in February 1510 the chapter sought protection from the king. They were clearly very angry, though at the same time they sought a licence for themselves, to allow them to impress choristers from the "monasteries or any other places within the diocese, to serve St. Andrew".⁴

Our next organist is Robert Okland, the first to be described as "organ player"; he only stayed about a year and a half, until August 1535. We know a good deal about Okland: he was the composer of an anthem in John Day's 'Certaine Notes . . .' of 1560, a member of the Chapel Royal in 1546 and 1547, and a composer of sufficient note to be mentioned by Thomas Morley as one of the composers whose works he had studied.

Soon after this comes the unfortunate gap in the accounts, and when they resume, in 1547, we find Philipp Ryse paid his final quarter's wages on resignation. Philip ap Rhys, who this must be, became organist of St. Paul's Cathedral shortly afterwards, and there is some organ music of his, including an organ mass, in John Redford's collection (B.M. Add. MS 29,966). He did not lose touch with St. Mary's, however, and on 17 July (the Feast of the Salutation of the B.V.M.) 1559 "Mr. Phillip of Poles" was paid 1s. 4d. for playing at Evensong. Ryse William (was he a relative?) succeeded him as regular organist of St. Mary's in 1548, but did not stay longer than a year. William, the last staff organist named in the accounts, received a salary of £4 a year together with 6s. 8d. a quarter for playing at the daily Lady Mass.

The bellows of the organ, it is worth noticing, were pumped by the three poor old men who lived on the charity of the church. These almsmen took turns at the work, and their wages were twopence per week.

The lay-clerks, naturally, carried out the general musical duties required in the church's services. These men were divided into two classes, the "clerks" and the "conducts", or "quandockes", as a later churchwarden calls them. Clerk and conduct belonged to minor orders of the priesthood, clerk being the senior order, and the title of "parish clerk" was given to the senior clerk.⁵ In these

³ 'Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII', Vol. IV, part i, par. 5083/12.

⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission: Dean and Chapter of Wells, LI, 1914, p. 219.

⁵ For further details of the general duties of clerk and conduct, see Christie, *op. cit.*

accounts the names clerk and conduct are sometimes interchangeable so far as their musical duties are concerned, though at first the conducts seem to have been more specially concerned with music than were the clerks. John Northfolke, for all his influence and importance in the church's affairs, was always described as conduct. He was an exception, however, and it is doubtful if either clerk or conduct commanded any great social dignity in the parish, at least until about 1530; even after this the duties of both seem to have included many odd jobs which the modern vicar-choral would hardly expect to do. In 1491 there were two clerks and two choristers; by 1522 there were four men, and their salaries varied between four and six pounds. By 1530 there were at least six regular clerks—I now use the term to include both clerk and conduct. In 1538 eleven clerks received wages but only three of them had a whole year's salary and there seem to have been frequent changes in the choir. The gap of seven years in the accounts is most regrettable, for after 1534 some of the clerks were musicians about whom we know a good deal.

Thomas Tallis sang at St. Mary's for a year from April 1537. It is interesting to find him here at this time, for in March 1540 his name heads the list of the singing-men of Waltham Abbey who lost their jobs at the Dissolution, and almost immediately afterwards he became a member of the Chapel Royal. E. H. Fellowes suggested that he had first come to the notice of the king at Waltham—an abbey Henry VIII was fond of visiting; but though this is possible, Tallis may have been at Waltham for a much shorter time than Fellowes believed, and it seems more likely that it was in London that he attracted the attention, not of the king, but of some responsible member of the Chapel Royal itself. There was every opportunity for a London musician to come into contact with the singers of the Chapel or of any other body of church musicians. It is possible that Tallis only came to St. Mary's from Waltham in the first place, and that he later returned there, but unfortunately no details of Tallis's earlier life have so far been discovered.

There was a very strong connection between St. Mary-at-Hill and Waltham Abbey. This arose out of the curious fact that the south aisle of the church had been built on the former site of the abbot's kitchen, and there were constant negotiations between church and abbey over the rent due from this ground. No doubt the "Abbot's Inn" also had some connection with Waltham. Relations between the two establishments were good and the church sometimes sent presents of fish or game to the abbot. Tallis was not the only singer to transfer to Waltham, for in 1525 William

Smith, clerk, was paid 1s. expenses "for setting a child at Waltham". Perhaps the child was Smith's son; and there may be some connection here with the William Smith, organist of Durham, who died about 1599. This Smith was the composer of a fine set of Anglican responses and a number of anthems.

John Day, conduct, received his first year's salary in 1536; he remained until some time between 1540 and 1547. Is this the printer John Day? Duff⁶ says the latter was born at Dunwich, in Suffolk, in 1522, and by the time he was eighteen, in 1540, he had already completed a period of employment with Thomas Reynoldes, a Holborn printer and physician. In 1546, when he was only twenty-four, he and William Seres became partners and began to print on their own. Now if he was also the conduct of St. Mary's, he would have been at the church between the ages of about fourteen and twenty. At first sight his youth and his work for Reynoldes seem to make this identification unlikely. Yet after the disappearance of Northfolke we have no references to choristers in the accounts, though the church cannot suddenly have dispensed with them; and there are only occasional notices concerned with the choir school. Is there, then, any reason why a boy of fourteen should not have sung in the choir and been entitled conduct? His duties may not have been arduous and could have allowed him to carry out his duties with Reynoldes, whose shop was only about a mile away. If our conduct was indeed the printer, it would certainly explain his specialized interest in music printing. What is more, it might explain why Tallis was chosen to set tunes to Matthew Parker's 1567 psalter, for Day would have been both printer and mutual friend. Moreover, of the nine composers who wrote music for Day's 'Certain Notes . . .' at least three had previously sung at St. Mary's.

Thomas Roo, whose name appears at the end of 1537 and again in 1540, though this time as Thomas Rowe, is probably the Thomas Roo, singing-man of Westminster, who died about 1549. Richard Winslatt first appears at Midsummer 1538, and he seems to have departed at the end of January 1540; his salary of £10 a year was exceptionally high. Redford's collection contains some music by him. John Thorne arrived in 1540; we do not know when he left. There is music by "Thorne of York" in Redford's collection, but some other music by "John Thorne" survives, so that there may perhaps have been more than one musician of the same name.

Thomas Mundy, sexton of St. Mary's, had a long connection with the church. He is first mentioned in 1527 when he bought a

⁶ E. G. Duff, 'A Century of the English Book Trade, 1457-1557'.

pennyworth of brooms for the church, and he was still sexton in 1559. The records contain many references to him, sometimes under the name of Thomas Sexton. In 1548 William Mundy appears as parish clerk, and it is clear that this is Thomas's son; from this time Thomas is sometimes referred to as "Old Mundy" or "Old Father Mundy". William may very well have been the composer William Mundy who died in 1591, and whose son, John, was an even more famous composer. The facts fit well enough: the composer William Mundy was a chorister at Westminster Abbey in 1542 and could have come to St. Mary-at-Hill in 1548 soon after his voice broke. He stayed at the church until after 1559 when our record ends, and we know he became a member of the Chapel Royal in 1564. The Mundys were well thought of at the church and several entries show the responsible positions they held. Thomas received 2d. for "pricking of a song book" in 1540, and 3d. for "drink for the singing men of the choir" in 1558. William was sent to Rochester "to hire a conducter, a bass, for our church" in 1557, and the following year he collected the tithes. Both father and son were evidently excellent musicians.⁷

This survey of the lay-clerks of the church must end with the observation that "Hethe the singing man" sang for twenty-one days in 1555. Perhaps this was the singing-man of Westminster who later became master of the choristers there, and perhaps he was also the composer Heathe whose music appears in Day's 'Certaine Notes . . . ' and in the "Wanley" books in the Bodleian library.

References to the church's books of polyphony are quite numerous. The first is in about 1485, when a "pricked song book for the church" was obtained. In 1497 the stationer "set all the new feasts" in the church books, including the "organ books"; the Church added a number of new saints' days to its calendar in the latter middle ages. In 1502 a supply of large (royal) sheets of paper "to prick songs in for the choir" cost 7d. In 1522 John Darlington, conduct, made a "pricksong book of kyries, Alleluyas and Sequences" and was paid 4s. 4d. for it. The association together of these three liturgical forms is notable; books containing Taverner's kyries and sequences belonged to the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, in 1529; and all three forms are closely associated in the first section of the British Museum manuscripts Add. 17802-5. In 1530 2s. 2d. was paid for "a book of plainsong of the offices of Jesus Mass and our Lady's Masses, for the children". The same

⁷ Fellowes mentions a pedigree of the Mundy family in a Harleian Manuscript. As this MS is a sixteenth-century MS of the *Periegesis* of Dionysius of Alexandria, he must have mistaken his reference.

year a quire of "paper Royal" for the "pricked song book" was bought. This is the first indication, confirmed later on, that there was a principal book of polyphony in the church which was constantly being added to. In 1530, also, the redoubtable Northfolke was paid for "pricked song books, of the which 5 of them be with Anthems and 5 with Masses". These are surely 5-part masses and motets of the kind we now know well from such choir- and part-books as have survived. It is interesting to note, too, that part-books and choir-books were both in use at St. Mary's. Next year, Edmond Matryvers, conduct, was paid 6d. for paper and "for pricking thereof", and in the following year (1532) two quires of "paper Royal" were bought to "mend the prick-song book"—evidence of hard use. The more lyrical forms of polyphony were not neglected, and in 1538 "Sir Marke" provided "carols for Christmas" and "5 square books". These last are something of a problem. In 1548, when the accounts resume after the gap, there appears to have been a certain amount of liturgical confusion and books for the English rite were being bought, including a four-part setting of *Te Deum*—"4 song books of *Te Deum* in English". In 1553 the Latin liturgy was once more in use; antiphoners and a gradual were acquired, together with two quires of paper "for to prick songs in". The final return to the English service books was made in January 1559.

Musical expansion at St. Mary-at-Hill becomes very clear from these accounts, and it can be traced from stage to stage in the greatest detail. First comes the employment of "extras", especially of members of the Chapel Royal, on feast days. Next, in 1523, comes the appointment of John Northfolke and the foundation of a song school. Then, from about 1535, we find a succession of remarkable musicians serving on the staff of the church. Parallel with each of these stages we can observe the gradually increasing importance of the organ and the accumulation of an ever more varied polyphonic repertory. Finally, we can see the difficulties which the church had to face in order to keep up with the liturgical music required during the turmoil of the various stages of the Reformation. By this time the music performed in St. Mary's must have been of a quality that is rarely heard to-day, even in cathedrals. Tudor musicians were a merry lot; the records of London churches make it clear that it was the practice to retire to a nearby tavern after singing Mass. How pleasant, if idle, is the idea of Tallis meeting Marbeck, perhaps, over a glass of wine in the "Cardinal's Hat" after Mass on Sunday.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The New Oxford History of Music. Vol. II: Early Medieval Music up to 1300.
pp. 434. (Oxford University Press, 1954.) 45s.

The original 'Oxford History of Music' was published under the editorship of Sir Henry Hadow between 1901 and 1905, and the first two volumes, which covered everything from ancient Greek music to Pales-trina and Victoria, were written by Professor H. E. Wooldridge. Already in 1932, when it was found necessary to bring out a revised version of these two volumes, it was possible for Sir Percy Buck to write: "It has . . . been a common criticism of this first volume that, masterly as it admittedly is, it plunges too rapidly into those developments of European music which ultimately led to the great polyphonists". This was something of an understatement even at the time, but the measures then adopted (the addition of an Introductory Volume and two new chapters in Vol. II, together with a certain amount of rewriting) were not really sufficient to bring this part of the series up to a standard which could meet international criticism. The work for some time has inspired affection rather than respect. An entirely new Oxford History was needed, and now, after long delays, it has begun to appear.

The 'New Oxford History of Music' (hereinafter referred to as N.O.H.) is under the general editorial control of a board of five, with the present Heather Professor, J. A. Westrup, at their head. Vol. II, which is the first to appear, is edited by Dom Anselm Hughes, O.S.B., whose publications have for more than thirty years enriched our knowledge of English medieval music. This volume takes as its period the Christian era until about 1300, and it thus enters into direct competition with Professor Gustave Reese's 'Music in the Middle Ages' (hereinafter referred to as M.M.A.), which was confessedly designed to provide for English-speaking students a more satisfactory alternative to the earlier part of the second edition of the Oxford History. Two other comprehensive and indispensable works which cover the same period are Besseler's 'Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance' (1931) and Gérold's 'Histoire de la musique des origines à la fin du XIV^e siècle' (1936); but as these are in German and French they do not invite comparison in the same way as Reese's excellent manual.

Before examining the new book in detail it may be as well to note the following sentence in the introduction signed by the Editorial Board:

The history as a whole is intended to be useful to the professed student of music, for whom the documentation of sources and the bibliographies are particularly designed. . . . We have, however, tried to ensure that the technical terms are intelligible to the ordinary reader and that what is specialized is not necessarily wrapped in obscurity.

Reese addressed his book (understandably, seeing that it dealt solely with the Middle Ages) primarily to the student, and this accounts for some of the differences in method and emphasis that the two books show. M.M.A. also left the cultural background quite deliberately on one side, as the book was designed to be complemented by Professor Lang's 'Music in Western Civilization'. The editors of N.O.H. claim, perhaps a little optimistically, to have combined material of this sort with the more technical aspects of musical history.

N.O.H. starts with two altogether admirable chapters in which Dr. Egon Wellesz summarizes the development of Christian chant in the Near East. This is done with the clarity, succinctness and authority that can only be achieved by someone who has all the relevant material at his fingertips and therefore knows precisely what he can leave out. Wellesz's chapters must be taken as largely superseding the third chapter of M.M.A. They are less schematized (perhaps a result of keeping the general reader in mind), but they do include more details of the Byzantine ecphonetic notation than Reese found it practicable to print. As an appendix to the chapter on the music of the eastern churches we are given an account of Russian chant by Professor Alfred Swan of Swarthmore. In M.M.A. Russian chant was tumbled into the same chapter as the various types of pre-Gregorian western chant, but here a much more sensible place is found for it. The account itself suffers from excessive compression. Since the subject is an exceedingly difficult one, and most of the primary sources are inaccessible, it might have been as well to present the evidence in greater detail. And surely the word "pope" is rather misleading in the quotation on p. 55.² The Slavonic word "Pop" was and is used to describe nothing more hierarchically exalted than a parish priest.

The monophonic music of the western church is covered in four chapters, the first two (dealing with pre-Gregorian and Gregorian chant respectively) by Monsignor Anglès, the director of the Pontifical Institute for Sacred Music, one devoted to "Trope, Sequence and Conductus" by Professor Handschin of Basel, and a final one on liturgical drama by Dr. W. L. Smoldon. In view of the eminence of the contributors it is a pity that the ground-plan of these chapters is not really satisfactory. In the first edition of the Oxford History Gregorian chant was hardly dealt with at all, except in so far as it was thought to provide a link between the music of the Graeco-Roman civilization and the new polyphony. This situation was not improved as much as it should have been by the addition of a chapter in the Introductory Volume of the second edition. Nowadays, however, there can be no musical scholar who does not realize that a knowledge of plainsong is of fundamental importance to any real understanding of medieval music. Moreover, as the scholars of Solesmes have never failed to point out, an understanding of plainsong is inseparable from an understanding of the liturgy it clothes ("clothes", indeed, rather in the way that flesh clothes bones: the connection is an organic one). Now although there is obviously no substitute for knowing the liturgy from the inside by being a Roman Catholic (and if possible a Benedictine of Solesmes), those of us whose faiths are pledged elsewhere or nowhere can acquire a not entirely useless *outside* knowledge of it. It may even be an advantage to the musical historian (if impartiality be thought desirable in historians) not to be committed to preferring the musical manifestations which his religious sentiments approve above those which reflect a less worthy attitude towards the liturgy. But to acquire even this outside knowledge we need instruction, and an introductory section on the Mass and the Office, such as Karl Young provided for his monumental 'The Drama of the Medieval Church', would have been most welcome.

Monsignor Anglès naturally belongs with those who understand

Gregorian chant from the inside, and his concise and enthusiastic chapters are full of insight. The first of them, in which he deals with the various pre-Gregorian chants preserved in the non-Roman western liturgies (Ambrosian, Gallican and Mozarabic), presents much material which is not easily accessible; particular mention must be made of his familiarity with the late Dom Suñol's work, not all of it published, on Ambrosian chant. On the whole the corresponding section of M.M.A. is here outclassed, although there are one or two questions which arise. On p. 71 we read "Ambrosian chant has the three-fold range of syllabic, semi-syllabic, and melismatic chants, the last being neither so elaborate nor so finished as the Roman . . ."; while on p. 90 we read of Mozarabic chant that "the prolixity and exuberance of some of the melodies were in no way behind the Ambrosian". The general tenor, as we might expect, is that Ambrosian chant is not as good as Gregorian, but we may be left wondering exactly why. And the versions of Mozarabic melodies which exist in Aquitanian notation and have been published by Rojo and Prado are perhaps too briefly dismissed as "traces of 'carefully heightened' or diastematic neums" (p. 84).

These are trifling criticisms of an extremely valuable chapter, but the account of the Gregorian repertory which follows it cannot be regarded as fully adequate. In the first place there is no account of the notation, which seems odd when we have already been given details of Byzantine notation and are moreover expected to read a large number of examples in (modern) plainsong notation. The rival interpretations to those of Solesmes are dismissed in too brusque a manner for a book which is devoted to the study of music as a *historical* phenomenon. But for Anglès everything belonging to the Silver Age is decadent, including its rhythmical notions about singing plainsong, and Handschin's study does not attempt to cover the whole later development of monophonic composition. Rhymed offices, for example, are not mentioned at all. Instead he gives us an extremely scholarly survey of tropes and sequences, the one fault of which is that it is built to a different scale from that of the rest of the book. While Anglès covers the whole of the strictly Gregorian repertory in thirty-six pages, Handschin devotes forty-seven to tropes and sequences alone! M.M.A., while its treatment of later plainsong forms is certainly too summary, does seem to preserve better proportion at this point. Liturgical drama, which is given the following chapter in N.O.H., is in M.M.A. treated together with tropes and sequences as an extension of the monophonic repertory, and indeed there is not a great deal in Dr. Smoldon's chapter on it to persuade us that it needs separate treatment. The dramatic aspects of these plays have already been magnificently treated in Karl Young's book, mentioned above. What was needed here was an account of the *musical* interrelations between them, and there are one or two hints of the chapter Dr. Smoldon might have written:

Scores of examples of the 'Quem quaeritis' trope are in existence, belonging to a number of European countries. Only the slightest variations of the original dialogue text are found, and the setting never strays far from the original melody. The changes are characteristic, however, and often serve to place a version.

Too little large-scale work has yet been done on the later forms of plainsong—Moberg's 'Über die schwedischen Sequenzen' is an outstanding exception—but it is the laborious comparative method which Dr. Smoldon here adumbrates (the method already used by the monks of

Solesmes in preparing their editions of earlier, more strictly Gregorian chant) which will eventually enable us to write their history.

Professor Westrup, who twenty-two years ago provided the additional chapter on Song for the second edition of the Oxford History, has a lucid account of medieval song in the present volume—monophonic song, that is, for secular motets are dealt with later by Dom Anselm Hughes. Included in the text are nearly forty complete songs; we must be grateful for such profusion. The treatment of the vexed question of rhythmic interpretation is common-sensical, as might be expected, but for a more extended account of the rival methods of transcription and their history the interested student will have to consult M.M.A. There he will also find rather more biographical material, but admittedly far fewer songs.

The final four chapters, in which the gradual emergence of polyphony is studied, are all by Dom Anselm Hughes, the editor of this particular volume of the series, and they reveal both the advantages and the disadvantages of standing rather outside the main stream of academic musicology. It is refreshing to find someone upholding the claims of empirical study of the music through the practical sources as against an excessive preoccupation with the theorists, though in our present state of knowledge (or rather ignorance) we must obviously lean on both rather than either; refreshing too to find someone who refuses to swallow the rigid classification of styles ("Léonin style", "Pérotin style" and the rest) which tidy-minded scholars are sometimes too willing to use. Yet there is often a suspicion that the author has let his own private enthusiasms affect the proportions of space which he devotes to individual subjects. Thus the Calixtine and "St. Martial" manuscripts seem to be treated rather superficially when compared with the English fragments which seem nowadays to be continually turning up on fly-leaves in the Bodleian and elsewhere; and two pages on "early English part-songs" intrude with no particular relevance between discussions of conductus and organum. "The General Picture", too, on pp. 314-17, turns unblushingly into a general *English* picture.

The approach to methods of performance, as throughout the volume, is based on common sense rather than documentation: either alone is equally dangerous, and a collection of references such as appears on pp. 323-30 of M.M.A. might not have come amiss. Sometimes too much seems to be deduced from the notated pitch as to the type of voice intended. (Why, incidentally, are two of Dr. Smoldon's examples transposed up a fourth? To fit in with the theory that bass voices are unmedieval?) The principle stated by Anonymus IV that dissonances at the beginning of conductus must be avoided by delaying the entry of one of the voices has not, as Hughes claims (p. 306), been overlooked. Handschin referred to it in his account of Wolfenbüttel 677 in 'The Musical Times' (1932-33), and M.M.A. also mentions it (p. 304), but in both these cases the remark in question is taken to mean that the tenor entry is delayed, while Hughes believes that it is the *vox organalis* that must wait. It may not be of great importance, but Handschin's interpretation seems to be borne out by the words "ad primam sequentem concordantem".

The treatment of conductus caudae becomes a little tendentious when the statement is made that "their chief interest lies not in the harmony but in the melody of the lowest voice". Unfortunately for this con-

tention the very example chosen as typical (Ex. 176) contains a perfect four-bar *Stimmlausch* (or interchange, if we are to avoid German terminology), which surely proves as well as anything could that the two voices share interest equally. But when we come to a discussion of interchange on p. 374, no reference is made to this example; instead we are referred to Ex. 154, where the correspondence is shorter and less exact. The printing of sections from the tenor only of 'Fraude caeca desolata' (p. 336-37) seems rather misguided if the "chief interest" does not in fact lie "in the melody of the lowest voice".

While it would be possible to multiply points in which independence of outlook verges on idiosyncrasy, it is more pleasant to turn to some of the challengingly original ideas which Dom Hughes springs on us now and again. One of the more deliberately provocative, I imagine, is as follows: "The rhythm of nature is binary, not ternary". Both rhythms have their place in nature, of course, since both have physiological equivalents; bouncing or skipping is as "natural" as striking or marching. Artistic fashions change, of course (cf. pp. 227-28 in Sachs's 'Rhythm and Tempo' for statistical evidence of one such change), but nature presumably remains constant.

Another pleasantly controversial point is the question of dating, raised on p. 311, but unfortunately not worked out in any detail. Hughes's argument from book-binding is not altogether convincing: *some* books were admittedly cut up for bindings relatively soon after they were written, but need we assume that those which were not sent to the binders necessarily went out of use at the same time as those that were?

The bibliographies are naturally smaller than those in M.M.A. The American book was a conscientious endeavour to list the secondary sources with great thoroughness for a public to whom the primary sources must remain largely inaccessible. N.O.H. tends to go to the other extreme, but this may be remedied by the final volume of the series, which is to contain "Chronological Tables, Bibliographies and Index". There is some evidence that bibliographical entries later than a certain date have not been able to be inserted. Thus there is a reference on p. 285 to Smits van Waesberghe's edition of "Cotton" (1950), but none to the subsequent exchange between him and Ellinwood contained in 'Notes' for 1951 and 'Musica Disciplina' for 1952, although these are equally relevant. Again, there is a reference on p. 329 to Bukofzer's article on 'The Beginnings of Choral Polyphony' as it originally appeared in the 'Papers of the American Musicological Society'; it has since been made a great deal more accessible in 'Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music' (1950; English ed., 1951). A more serious deficiency than these references is the fact that Bukofzer's extremely important paper on interrelations between conductus and clausula was published too late ('Annales Musicologiques', I, 1953) for it to be taken into account in Chapter X.

The book is handsomely produced, with particularly clear and accurately printed music examples. There are six photographic illustrations, some of which might have been better chosen. The photographs of Abyssinian and Armenian hymn-books will be of less general interest than would some illustration of the manuscripts discussed in such detail by Handschin. 'Virtute numinis' (misspelt "nominis"), which faces p. 303, is not referred to at all in the text. The wrong page of the

St. Victor MS has apparently been reproduced to face p. 349, though an erratum slip corrects the mistake: it does not mention, however, that this photograph illustrates a point made on p. 365, nor is there any reference there to the illustration. Misprints, though present, are not numerous.

As to the general task of editing this volume, certain criticisms have already been levelled against the proportional allotment of space both within the editor's own contribution and between the chapters contributed by others, but this is perhaps inevitable in a composite work unless the editor arrogates to himself powers which are quite likely to be resented by his contributors. (There is one place where such intervention might have been justified. Angès and Handschin on pp. 74 and 152 interpret—and in one important particular translate—differently the same passage from Cyprian's life of St. Caesarius. A little collaboration might have resolved the inconsistency.)

Reese provides a more evenly balanced picture, a more flowing narrative, and perhaps an easier and safer book for students to use, but in various ways each of the chapters in N.O.H. II is valuable, whether as a summary of known facts or as a presentation of new research and controversial ideas. It will be interesting to see how the principle of composite authorship works out in succeeding volumes. The next two are going to be exceedingly difficult to dovetail satisfactorily. Together with our gratitude for the present volume our best wishes go out to the general editor in his unenviable but rewarding task of bringing the next one to press.

J. N.

Music in the Renaissance. By Gustave Reese. pp. xvii + 1022. (Dent, London, 1954.) 70s.

Musicians and musical scholars have long awaited the promised continuation of Reese's 'Music in the Middle Ages', first published in the United States in 1940 and originally planned (like Besseler's volume) to include the Renaissance as well as the Middle Ages. Dr. Reese pointed out in the preface to his first book that considerations of size precluded progress beyond the middle of the fifteenth century, although bibliographical references had been compressed and abbreviated to a great extent. Mention was made of a possible second volume, entirely devoted to the music of the Renaissance. Now, after fourteen years of work, Dr. Reese has produced that book: the possibility has become reality. There are more than twice as many pages in the new book than in the first edition of 'Music in the Middle Ages', and this fact alone is sufficient to prove the author's wisdom in presenting the two periods in separate volumes.

Here, then, is the first full-length study in English of the music and musicians flourishing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It naturally overlaps not only the period covered in the latter part of Dr. Reese's first book, but also the early years of the Baroque period, dealt with by Manfred Bukofzer in another volume of the Norton historical series. The author divides the Renaissance into two main periods, and his book falls into two main sections. But the periods do not correspond to the sections of the book: therein lies the subtlety and novelty of the presentation. Early and late Renaissance may be associated with the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively, and the extensive ground of this

entire period is gone over in the first section of the book, entitled 'The Development of the Central Musical Language of the Renaissance in France, the Low Countries and Italy'. The division is already clear: it is not one of time, but of place. The author thus finds it possible to move on, after an extensive definition and discussion of the main stream of Renaissance music, beyond the geographical confines of the countries already mentioned, to a complete survey of the 'Diffusion and Development of the Musical Language of the Renaissance in the Hispanic Peninsula, Germany, Eastern Europe and England'. He has achieved thereby his wish for "polyphony in prose" and has won "the struggle to reconcile the chronological thrust with the regional spread".

This manner of presentation seems to me to possess great virtues, both æsthetic and didactic. By viewing an epoch from two vantage-points one can see far more than would ever be revealed from a single look-out post, however elevated and however clear the line of vision. It is exactly this balanced outlook which is typical of historical method and critical evaluation at their best, and Dr. Reese has achieved notable success where many others have failed. For purposes of teaching and learning the two vantage-points have the added effect of recapitulation where matters of form and style are concerned, and we recognize in the detailed discussions of peripheral manifestations of the Renaissance those same processes of musical composition which we first remarked in the early part of the book.

Apart from this fundamental difference from 'Music in the Middle Ages', many outward characteristics remain the same. Layout and typography are of high standard, and there are many fascinating art plates, one of them containing a remarkable collection of signatures of Renaissance composers. This alone is something of an achievement, for we are not accustomed to thinking of "composers' autographs" in a period which saw the widespread dissemination of music by scribes and printers, and an incredibly unsentimental attitude towards the personal possessions and qualities of the composers themselves. This latter fact has made the study of biography a matter of some difficulty where composers from Binchois to Byrd are concerned, and we must be grateful to Dr. Reese for his tireless assembly of data and for his concise and readable presentation of what could easily have been archival references, devoid of life and colour. Music and life are permitted to intermingle where appropriate, as in this typical discussion of the life of Obrecht:

Mille quingentis, a motet in which he laments the death of his father Willem in 1488, states that he himself was born on St. Cecilia's day (November 22). Judging from known dates later in his life, the year was 1450; the probable place was Bergen op Zoom. It has been claimed that Obrecht was a singer in the service of Hercules I at Ferrara in 1474, but the evidence is far from conclusive. About 1476, he had Erasmus as one of his choirboys at Utrecht, and in 1479 became choir director at Bergen op Zoom.

Many writers would be content to leave such a summary just as it stands. Dr. Reese, however, satisfies the most voracious and inquisitive appetite by providing three footnotes to the above passage. The first refers to the motet itself, and tells us where we may find a modern edition of the complete work and a citation of the literary text alone. The second, which qualifies the use of the word "probable" in the sentence regarding the composer's birthplace, gives accurate references to discussions by Piscaer, Pirro and Smijers, and briefly sums up the arguments for and

against Obrecht's association with the University of Louvain. The third footnote sent us straight to a classical work of reference by Van der Straeten for the inconclusive evidence about Obrecht's visit to Ferrara.

Too many authors and publishers omit this kind of thing by pretending that it is burdensome to the reader and a serious drain on production costs. Their short-sightedness will be adequately proved when their own books are remaindered a few years after publication, while serious books like 'Music in the Renaissance' will go through countless editions for many years to come. No footnote which gives accurate references to original documents or secondary sources of information can ever be deemed redundant. There are more than 7,000 such footnotes in Dr. Reese's book, and they will amply reward the reader who accepts them for what they are: signposts for further information, encouragement for wider reading, sources for musical texts which (it need hardly be stressed) must be studied along with the book itself. There is evidence, moreover, that a constant endeavour has been made to keep the book right up to date by including details of new publications and communications from scholars themselves, the footnotes being provided with alphabetical suffixes in order to maintain the numerical sequence.

Teachers and lecturers will find the multiple references to printed editions extremely useful, for they may well find it possible to assemble several copies of the same item by drawing upon anthologies of Renaissance music, and so provide classes and seminars with more material than might otherwise have been thought of. The abbreviations of writers and books should prove no stumbling-block for the scholar who is used to musicological sigla: he will soon find it as easy to translate "MarH" into Marix, J., 'Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon' as he does to recognize "Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici miscellanea 213" under the modest symbol "O".

There are over 200 musical examples in the book, and although these are exceptionally well copied and reduced photographically, many may find them rather small as regards notes, staves and text. Obviously less reduction would have caused the size of the book to increase beyond control. The bibliography is on a different principle from that used in the author's previous book. Here the listing is alphabetical according to author or general title (where music editions are concerned), and not according to chapter. In the general index, which is a model of its kind, the lists of manuscripts and of Masses (six closely printed columns of the latter) are especially valuable.

Dr. Reese is to be congratulated on the completion of a vast and important undertaking. His book at last illumines a period whose later portion at least has been revered ever since the pioneer work of nineteenth-century scholars first showed what musical riches the Renaissance possessed. But this reverence often lacked detailed knowledge, and the enthusiast who was not at the same time a historian and a master of many languages had perforce to limit his field of enquiry. The resultant wave of research cast its spray into every corner of Europe, and brought about publications ranging from short articles to lengthy books, from sheet music to terraced *Denkmäler*. Dr. Reese's familiarity with and control of this vast mass of information is to be respected and admired, and music students and

scholars the world over owe him a great debt for the magnificent way in which he has presented it.

D. S.

Morley's Canzonets for Two Voices. By John Earle Uhler. pp. 74. (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1954.) \$2.50.

This book consists mainly of facsimile reproductions of the two part-books ("booklets" to Mr. Uhler) in which Morley's work first appeared. It is convenient to be able to refer to them, of course, but, with adequate modern editions available, one wonders whether anyone will want to sing from them and, when we lack modern editions of so much excellent out-of-the-way music of the past, whether such an expensive publication is really necessary. Moreover, by binding the facsimiles of both part-books consecutively the publishers have ensured that anyone who does want to sing from them with a friend must buy his own copy of the book.

The facsimiles are prefaced by a fifteen-page introduction, which is sometimes useful and interesting, especially when it repeats information easily accessible in other books (for example, those of Dr. Fellowes and Professor Pattison), and sometimes unreliable and jejune. About Morley himself and his publisher, Thomas East, more reliable and pertinent information than Mr. Uhler provides may be found in Thurston Dart's foreword to R. A. Harman's edition of the 'Plain and Easy Introduction' (although it appeared more than two years ago Mr. Uhler clearly has not seen this edition); Mr. Uhler is over-confident about the dates of Morley's birth and death, and claims too much originality for him; more English madrigals are in ternary form than he allows; he should be made to distinguish between the words "homophonic" and "homophonous" (a new one to me), which he seems to use indiscriminately; readers capable of using the facsimiles will not need to be told that Burney is "better known to students of literature as the father of Fanny"; and so on.

But not until we come to p. 12 do we comprehend what appears to be the *raison d'être* of the whole book: like the sonnet-sequences of Philip Sidney and Thomas Watson, the canzonets tell a continuous story, and lo! Mr. Uhler has discovered the first of all song-cycles. To a great extent a reading of the poems bears out this interpretation, but was it necessary to make such a fuss about it? Earnestly justifying his theory, Mr. Uhler sometimes becomes faintly absurd, as when, at the appearance of Phyllis ("another love") in the story, he sees the ternary setting of the canzonet 'Miraculous love's wounding' as an illustration of "a love triangle". When he tries to fit into the story the titles of the nine instrumental pieces, thereby showing to his own satisfaction why they are scattered among the vocal numbers instead of being grouped together at the end, he becomes rather more absurd and dreadfully arch into the bargain: 'La Rondinella' "is apparently as appropriate as the American colloquialism 'wren' or 'chicken' or 'chick' of several decades ago"; and 'Il Grillo' "may suggest the Italian phrase 'crickets in the head' for mental aberrations in either Flora or her lover". But 'La Torella' defeats even Mr. Uhler, who attributes it to Morley's "native sense of humor".

The object of the series to which this pretentious book belongs is "to publish the results of research" by members of Louisiana State University. Mr. Uhler, however, could have completed most of such

little research as has gone into his book merely by sitting for a day or two in his library consulting a few books and modern editions. No true scholar will recognize this activity as "research" worthy to be sponsored by a university press.

The facsimiles are nice and clear. The introduction is a photographed typescript; care might have been taken to make the endings of the lines more regular.

N. C. F.

The Bach Family: Seven Generations of Creative Genius. By Karl Geiringer. pp. 514. (Allen & Unwin, London, 1954.) 45s.

The author of this formidable volume enjoys a deserved reputation in two continents as a specialist in Haydn and Brahms. He is equally well known for his admirably documented contributions to the subject of organography, facilitated by his years of office as the custodian of the archives and the museum of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. His belated contribution to the Bach centenary of 1950—written in America, whither he went shortly before the outbreak of the second world war—therefore carries an element of surprise for the readers of his earlier books. One does not turn into a Bach scholar overnight, least of all after departure from Central Europe. The mere collection of source material indispensable to a comprehensive study of the Bach family from its obscure beginnings is an awe-inspiring task, which would admittedly have been impossible without the contributions of European scholars. While acknowledging their help, Dr. Geiringer also pays tribute to Dr. Irene Geiringer, his wife, whose substantial collaboration is acknowledged on the very title-page. But despite this well-organized outside help, it was difficult in compiling a book of such encyclopedic scope to steer altogether clear of scamped detail and debatable principles in the choice of music for close inspection. It would indeed be a little less than the truth to suggest that Dr. Geiringer had avoided such pitfalls.

His book is neatly divided into three main parts: Part i, dealing with the rise of the Bach family up to 1700 (by far the most valuable section, even for the initiated scholar); Part ii, called "Expansion and Culmination (1700-1750)", chiefly concerned with J. S. Bach's life and music; and finally Part iii, discussing the last great achievements and the decline of the family after 1750, and devoting about half of its space to a concentrated discussion of J. S. Bach's four famous sons. Part i, containing fascinating thumbnail sketches of Johann Sebastian's musical forbears, undoubtedly fills a gap in current Bach literature. The real test of the author's achievement, however, is the extended chapter on Johann Sebastian himself (Part ii, pp. 119-296). It is here that a somewhat conventional approach to his biography, coupled with an evident lack of personal musical experience and a kind of indifference to the special problems posed by Johann Sebastian's principles of composition, begins to create a feeling of anticlimax. To discuss the Mass in B minor in little more than two pages and to wind up that brief paragraph with so distressingly platitudinous a statement as "Yet, it is one of the greatest manifestations of the religious spirit and belongs, with Beethoven's 'Missa solemnis', to the immortal documents of man's quest for the eternal truths" (p. 241), is unworthy of the subject under discussion. There are also instances where the assembly of historical facts is less than

accurate. It is quite misleading to state (p. 232) that the first version of the 'Magnificat' (in E \flat major) was "repeatedly interrupted by chorales, Christmas songs, etc. . . .", implying by the insertion of "etc." a multitude of interpolations which simply does not exist. The interpolations consist of four movements only, one of which remained a fragment.¹ In the paragraph devoted to the St. Matthew Passion (p. 235 ff.) its famous Berlin performance of 1829 is mentioned in a footnote, but the reader will look in vain for the name of Mendelssohn, who after all conducted it. Yet, Dr. Geiringer finds space to quote a whole sentence from Zelter's programme note for that very performance. Even more misleading than this regrettable omission of Mendelssohn's name is a sentence on the 'Well-Tempered Clavier' (p. 268): "The 24 preludes and fugues . . . were so successful that in Leipzig Bach compiled a second collection of 24 New Preludes and Fugues (B.W.V. 846-869)", suggesting to the unsuspecting reader a successful publication of Part I. As is well known, both parts of the work remained unpublished till fifty-odd years after Bach's death.

The same lack of judgment in the selection of source material and the same doubtful factual accuracy occasionally spoil the pages on C. P. E. Bach. For reasons of his own Dr. Geiringer tries to tone down the son's indifference to the music of his great father, saying: ". . . In his youth he [C.P.E.] may, out of a natural tendency towards artistic self-preservation, have avoided conceding to himself the full extent of his father's greatness. Later however, he allowed himself to become fully aware of Sebastian's artistic stature. . . ." (p. 351). This seems a clear case of "not proven", for the only evidence of C.P.E.'s change of heart Dr. Geiringer can muster is the anonymous letter (in praise of Johann Sebastian), published in 1788, which Dr. Dragan Plamenac believes to have been written by C.P.E. himself and not by A. F. C. Kollmann, who had been credited with it. There exist, in fact, convincing proofs of C.P.E.'s continued indifference towards Johann Sebastian's music. The copy of the 'Well-Tempered Clavier' (Part II only) which he gave to Burney in 1777 came into S. Wesley's hands, who discovered that it was written in the soprano clef for both staves, studded with mistakes, left uncorrected, and that it had evidently never been played.² The incident also explodes, *a posteriori*, Geiringer's "success story" of the 'Well-Tempered Clavier' in general.

In the discussion of C.P.E.'s clavier works (p. 354 ff.) no guidance is given as to available modern editions. This is the more regrettable because no collected edition exists so far. The omission of H. Schenker's critical edition of the clavier works (Universal Edition, Vienna, 1902, 2 vols.)—his treatise 'Ornamentik: ein Beitrag zur Claviermusik' alone is listed in Dr. Geiringer's bibliography—deprives the English reader of an indispensable bit of information.

A similar case of inaccurate reference mars the otherwise very readable pages on Wilhelm Friedemann, whose life-story has always exercised a fascination on writers of fiction. It is hard to understand why Dr. Geiringer suppresses (p. 316) the name of the author of the "highly romantic

¹ Cf. W. Schmieder, B.W.V., 1950, Appendix to B.W.V. 243, p. 329.

² Cf. S. Wesley's letter to B. Jacob of 17 September 1808 in his 'Letters, Referring to the Works of J. S. Bach' (London, 1875).

best-selling novel" dealing with the vicissitudes and failings of Johann Sebastian's favourite son. This was A. E. Brachvogel, whose novel 'Friedemann Bach' in turn inspired a successful opera by Paul Graener on the same subject, not only the "German film" mentioned by Dr. Geiringer.

That 'The Bach Family' represents an impressive effort to master a complex and often recalcitrant subject of almost appalling dimensions is not to be denied. If its author does not always succeed in bringing the characters of that illustrious clan of musicians truly to life, the reasons for his failure may be attributed to the peculiar nature of his musical experience. The music of Johann Sebastian and his great sons can be successfully assessed only by scholars who happen to be executants and practical musicians as well. Albert Schweitzer, the veteran among the Bach scholars of our age, succeeds in his admirable book (many details of which, it is true, are in need of thorough revision) because he approaches Bach not only as a biographer and as a scholar of antiquarian leanings, but also as a superb organist and experienced choirmaster. That problems of performing-practice and of modern editorial technique are all but excluded from Dr. Geiringer's book may have been partly due to lack of space; but a scholar of a different bent would surely have found a way of discussing at least some of these aspects in a book of such generous proportions. It seems a thousand pities that so much of the biographical portion remains shadowy and a trifle inconclusive, when it might easily have been fascinating and, indeed, enthralling. It is equally regrettable that the analyses of so much beautiful music seem to skim the surface rather than to penetrate to the core of the matter.

The book is written in a generally pleasing style, only very occasionally marred by an expression of doubtful linguistic quality. The numerous music examples are well produced, but would be even more useful if clear indications of their bibliographical whereabouts were attached. They are particularly welcome in the case of the little-known music of the earlier generations of the Bachs. Example 17 (taken from Johann Nicolaus Bach's burlesque cantata 'Der Jena'sche Wein- und Bierrufer') (p. 96) does not make sense as it stands: F♯s are evidently missing at the beginning of all three staves.

H. F. R.

William Schuman. By Flora Rheta Schreiber and Vincent Persichetti. pp. 139. (Schirmer, New York; Chappell, London. 1954.) 25s.

William Schuman, now in his mid-forties, is the foremost American composer of his generation. Yet his works are heard seldom in Britain. Perhaps, despite its shortcomings, this book may encourage more performances, though it is doubtful. It has three sections. Miss Schreiber takes forty-eight pages to portray "the Man"; Mr. Persichetti devotes seventy-six pages well stocked with illustrations to the music; the final (and most useful) part contains lists of compositions and records, and a small bibliography.

The style of Miss Schreiber's biographical writing resembles that of popular magazine features. The story she tells is quite interesting, but she tells it (to quote the jacket blurb) as "the story of a man who suddenly found that what he wanted more than anything else was to compose

music that would endure". To give what is called "the personal slant" she pursues unnecessary details such as Schuman's love of ice-cream and Wild Western films. Sometimes her observations are embarrassing and her words ill-chosen: "Home was filled with a strong sentimentality and a strong cohesiveness" (p. 3); "Though he knew many girls, his relationships with them tended to be consecutive rather than simultaneous. He instinctively chose a one-woman family-man pattern of existence" (p. 7); "Schuman enjoys the father role, dramatizes it, and sometimes even indulges in it with people other than Tony or Andrea his adopted daughter" (p. 39). It is hardly surprising that her comment on Schuman's abandonment of jazz is that "he knew that the umbilical cord that united him with commercial music had to be cut" (p. 11), when she describes the development of his character by such a phrase as "his personality had naturally passed through a metamorphosis and was in harmony with the new seriousness" (p. 38). This superficial and blatant corruption of language occurs on nearly every page. Anyone who did not know some of Schuman's music and writings before reading this volume might be dissuaded finally from any further investigations.

Unhappily Mr. Persichetti's analysis of the music is no better. His style combines pictorial description of the worst sort of programme note with a needless multiplying of abstract nouns. He has less excuse than Miss Schreiber (whose popular articles, the jacket informs us, range from crime reporting to biographical profiles), for he is himself a composer and should therefore know how to write on music in a lucid and dignified manner. Yet the opening page describing the general features of Schuman's music conceals a minimum of information under a mass of verbiage:

If there is more of one ingredient than another in the rich mixture of William Schuman's music it is the strong-flavoured energy that generates a constant boil of movement. There is motion stirred by boldness and intensity, movement that pushes forward resourcefully and seriously, and beneath even the quietest pages a restless current that will eventually surface in a rush. This youthful drive might well send the music catapulting over any real compositional problems. Sheer speed and quick changes of harmonic garb could carry it along, side-stepping direct solutions. In this most characteristic element of Schuman's music his kindest critics see a potential weakness. Objectivity is often lost in music conceived in such passion, and many an earnest listener is swept on more by fury than by sound. A close study of Schuman's music and a real understanding of his creative approach will, I believe, reveal a solid composer with an original creative spirit.

This is quoted *in extenso* because such logorrhoea must be condemned wherever and whenever it appears. What, exactly, does it all mean? How much, if at all, will it assist anyone listening to or studying Schuman? The descriptions of the works are comic. The following deserves to be the subject of an Emmett drawing: "The next passage is the wildest kind of imitation. It is dangerously scored for rotating choirs of strings, brass, and high and low woodwinds" (p. 88). Much of the "analysis" reads like parody: "The diatonic tail of B₁ promotes a chorale-like extension in the brass while the disjunct head of B₂ grows contrapuntally sly (B₃) as it coils around the 'chorale', hiding its most characteristically melodic leaps" (p. 119); "The prolonged minor seconds of A support a capriccio section that leads the sustained motifs of A into fast company while flattening the humps of B" (p. 120). Not having been able to consult the score of 'Judith' (to which these sentences pertain) one cannot

discover what fascinating procedure is referred to by the top sentence of p. 122 ("A and B are jelled in the next quiet section") or what happens when "A becomes infatuated with chromatics of the second theme". Sentences of this sort abound on nearly every page.

Music of any kind is dishonoured by such puerilities. It is remarkable that this book should have been published by the firm that issues Schuman's music. Let us hope that its appearance in this country does not herald the arrival of other books written in the same manner.

A. M.

Kathleen Ferrier: a Memoir. Edited by Neville Cardus. pp. 125. (Hamish Hamilton, London, 1954.) 12s. 6d.

Within little more than a week of the first anniversary of Kathleen Ferrier's death this eagerly-awaited memoir, edited, written and published by devoted colleagues and friends, made a most welcome first appearance. Not only will it help to keep the universally loved singer's memory green for countless members of her audiences and reveal something of her enchanting personality to the thousands who knew her voice only by radio or from gramophone recordings; it will, in addition, benefit generations of singers yet unborn, since all the proceeds from the sale of the book are to be devoted to the Kathleen Ferrier Memorial Scholarships, additional contributions to which, by the way, may be sent to the Royal Philharmonic Society.

Even during her all too short lifetime the story of Kathleen Ferrier's phenomenally swift rise to international fame acquired an almost legendary character. Now, with the publication of this collection of tributes from musicians who were associated with her at critical stages of her professional life, the greatness of her triumph can be the more truly appreciated. It was achieved only by unremitting study for years on end of all the branches of the singer's art. Her voice was an incomparable natural gift, but owing to the lateness of her start with serious training, and to the necessity of earning her living before she was fully equipped, she had to work ceaselessly at high pressure. She was, in a sense, for ever struggling to make up for lost time. Yet her singing, with its wealth of emotional expressiveness, betrayed no feeling of haste or unrest. The impression she made upon her audiences was invariably one of utter serenity. All the more poignant is it to know that for over two years before the end she was aware of the nature of the illness that must inevitably cut short first her career, and then, only a few months later, her life.

The present series of essays forms a gallery of portrait-sketches drawn from different angles but all resembling one another in their heartfelt though not entirely uncritical admiration of the subject portrayed. Neville Cardus, who describes the social and musical background of 'The Girl from Blackburn' and her family, gives an outline of her youthful activities. From him we learn details of her promising career as a solo pianist and accompanist until the age of twenty-seven, when she finally decided to become a singer. As a fellow-Lancastrian he is specially qualified to sum up the distinctively "North of England kindliness and generosity of temperament" and the particular brand of humour that characterized "this wondrous Lancashire lass". Though admittedly

under the spell of her artistic personality, he writes with critical detachment about her singing.

The other contributors, who knew her far more intimately, give glowing accounts of their musical associations and friendships with her in their several capacities as conductor, teacher, composer and accompanist. Beyond many touching descriptions of some of Kathleen Ferrier's characteristic personal traits in these five essays, interesting facts may be gleaned from them as to her growth as an artist. Sir John Barbiroli writes most particularly of 'The Last Years', which she herself often referred to as "the happiest years of my life". It was he who had earlier observed that she was in danger of degenerating into an "Oratorio Contralto". His suggestion that she should study French vocal music, beginning with Chausson's 'Poème de l'amour et de la mer', led to the extending of the range of her voice and of her resources of vocal colouring. In 'Three Premières' Benjamin Britten tells of her diffidence as an actress during rehearsals for her first appearance in opera, 'Lucretia', at Glyndebourne in 1946, and yet of how quickly and whole-heartedly she entered into the spirit of the undertaking. He expresses profound regret that untoward circumstances conspired to prevent the commercial recording of performances of works in which she sang parts he had specially designed for her: the 'Spring Symphony' and the canticle 'Abraham and Isaac'. 'Per ardua . . .' is the title of Roy Henderson's essay, which covers the period of nine years from 1943 during which she studied with him in London. His long account of her response to his methods of training, and of how her voice gradually rose in pitch, can hardly fail to be of absorbing interest and real value to singers. In 'The Radiant Companion', Gerald Moore, her accompanist at numerous recitals at home and abroad, expresses the opinion that, in contrast to many singers, who are better at rehearsals than at performances, Kathleen Ferrier was a born performer. "She was inspired by the occasion, and the bigger the occasion, the better she sang." He considers that it was her modesty in the face of overwhelming success that was responsible both for the warmth of admiration and affection shown her by other singers and for the immunity she enjoyed from professional jealousy. He gives the titles of *Lieder* by Schubert and Wolf which she sang with him for her own pleasure towards the end of her life; all of them serious in character. Dr. Bruno Walter had fewer opportunities for personal contact with Kathleen Ferrier than had the other contributors. His 'Farewell', the shortest of all the essays, turns mainly upon her performances with him of Mahler's 'Lied von der Erde'. He writes that it was "particularly music of spiritual meaning that seemed her most personal domain". In default of an essay by one of her women friends, a few paragraphs of personal reminiscence by her close companion and secretary, Bernadine Hammond, are quoted by Mr. Moore. George Baker gives a touching account of the circumstances in which the Royal Philharmonic Society's Gold Medal was awarded to Kathleen Ferrier during her last illness.

From all these warmly expressed tributes Kathleen Ferrier emerges as a most lovable personality with many-sided interests. Her lively sense of fun was counterpoised by intense seriousness. She was a splendid all-round musician. (How many internationally famous singers have taken an L.R.A.M. for piano at the age of nineteen, have broadcast a piano

recital, accompanied renowned solo artists or have played chamber music with others by way of relaxation?¹) She seems to have had an infinite capacity for enjoying life. In her spare time she was a keen gardener, an impassioned cook, an amateur tennis-player, golfer and painter, a delightful letter-writer and a lover of antiques. She was endowed with superb courage and cheerfulness. "I am sitting up in bed, counting my blessings", she wrote in a letter not long before the end. The fine series of photographs, which range from her babyhood until the last few months of her life, depict the astonishing development of the care-free, rawboned girl into the radiantly beautiful woman and mature artist.

If a criticism may be expressed upon a book that has obviously been compiled *con amore e con intimissimo sentimento*, it is that it tends to be repetitive, and that biographically it lacks cohesion. Readers who may wish to follow the whole course of Kathleen Ferrier's career must turn from one essay to another to collect and sort out the dates and places of outstanding events and performances. A brief chronology of such facts would greatly enhance the book's interest. As there is likely to be a heavy demand for copies, perhaps it is not too much to hope that an addition of this kind might be made to future reprints. A useful feature of the present edition is a list of all Kathleen Ferrier's gramophone recordings.

K. D.

Structural Functions of Harmony. By Arnold Schoenberg. pp. 200. (Williams & Norgate, London, 1954.) 25s.

Composition with Twelve Notes related only to one another. By Josef Rufer. Translated by Humphrey Searle. pp. 218, xxiv. (Rockliff, London, 1954.) 25s.

Except for his music itself, nothing more strongly justifies Schoenberg in his use of the twelve-note method than his indisputable mastery of the traditional methods of musical organization that he has abandoned for it. This mastery is affirmed once more in 'Structural Functions of Harmony', written in English with the assistance of a former pupil, Leonard Stein, and prepared for publication by Humphrey Searle. The book is intended among other things for teaching purposes, but rejects the familiar methods of teaching harmony by figured bass or harmonizing melodies. In a prefatory note Schoenberg says: "This book contains in condensed form the methods of teaching harmony as presented in my 'Harmonielehre'". This method is an exposition of the principles of classical and romantic harmony by means of a complete classification of all possible chords, and of the relative distance from a tonic of all other harmonic and tonal regions, with a description and definition of basic types of progression and their functional characteristics and qualities.

The extreme condensation of this section (Chapters i-ix, a little more than one-third of the book) demands close concentration from the reader

¹ The first time I heard her was at a C.E.M.A. concert at which string quartets were tried—very successfully—on an audience of factory hands. There was no piano, and the accompaniments to her songs had to be arranged for the quartet. She did them all herself.—Ed.

or student, but once it is grasped, not only in the principle, which is relatively easy, but in the detail, which is not, he has a virtually complete theory of tonal harmony at his command. This theory is described on the dust-cover, with some over-simplification but otherwise not inaccurately, as an affirmation of "the principle of 'monotonicity' showing how all modulations within a movement are merely deviations from, and not negations of, its main tonality". These chapters are followed by two longer ones, on "Extended Tonality" and "Progressions for Various Compositional Purposes", which are chiefly analytical, with many and extensive quotations from classical and romantic symphonic works, including the harmonic outline of whole exposition or development sections, analysed according to the principles set out in the earlier part of the book, with some attention to aesthetic or wider structural considerations, as implied in the headings of the two chapters. As a mere terminological exercise the Schoenbergian analysis is not difficult, but he succeeds in persuading that it is not merely that, and is often illuminating. A possible exception is the quotation on p. 119 of bars 113-144 of the first movement of the "Eroica" Symphony, which, as a codetta, he classes "as regards its structural functions" as "merely a cadence", and analyses as entirely in the dominant region (B \flat). But from that basis does he not make either too much or too little of bars 119-131? These are an almost strictly sequential succession of interlocking artificial dominants (or interdominants), which from the point of view of structural functions (since that is the theme of the book) would perhaps be more usefully and properly analysed in their narrower context, as no more than that, gaining their coherence from their interlocking sequential progression, but without wider structural functions—these being served, perhaps, by an implied dominant pedal.

As an appendix there is a short final chapter with the promising title "An Apollonian Evaluation of a Dionysian Epoch", to which the content, in spite of some sensible observations on twelve-note music and towards its proper evaluation, does not do justice, and to which the last half-page has no relevance at all—though it would not have been out of place in a preface. But this chapter, to which many readers, anticipating something revealing, may turn first, should not put them off the real matter of the book, which is superbly comprehensive, instructive and objective, and commands respect for Schoenberg the composer, as having an authenticity and insight into the creative imagination that lies behind technical procedures such as only an analyst himself gifted with such an imagination could possess, and can only be described in terms of them.

Rufer, specifically advocating Schoenberg's cause as a composer, is not so persuasive. He is well-meaning, but his book is spoilt by his anxiety to "defend" the master and his method, giving an impression of pleading or insisting that may alienate even the sympathetic reader, when a more objective exposition of many of the same points might have convinced and won over even the unsympathetic. He seems to have wanted to win confidence by frequent reference to and comparison with "tonal" music, and by making his exposition more "human" by down-to-earth analogies. These, unfortunately, are often puerile and false. There is an example on p. 31, when on the tonal relationship of the working-out

section of a sonata movement to the exposition and recapitulation he writes:

It [the working-out] moves through the various keys, and comes into contact with any of them except I and V; these latter are made conspicuous by their absence—presentation by exception, like saying "not dry" instead of "wet".

Again, on p. 94, he compares composing with a constructed series (in contrast with one spontaneously conceived), to writing variations on a theme by another composer. And on pp. 128-29 he states that the relationship of chords formed from the mirror form of a note-row, or section of a row, to the chords formed by the corresponding notes in the basic series, "approximately corresponds" to the relationship between the triads of, for example, C major (major plus minor third above C) and F minor (major plus minor third below C) in tonal music.

These are small details, but they are symptomatic of the lack of discipline of the author's thinking or writing. Similarly unconvincing and irritating is his method, in the chapter on "The Antecedents of Twelve-Note Music", of describing in some detail one or another characteristic or procedure of tonal music, in order to state baldly, unilluminatingly and without amplification at the end of the paragraph that the same procedure or a parallel occurs in twelve-note music too. Much of this, which arouses scepticism rather than confidence, could with advantage have been left out. The same is true of several of the examples of near-twelve-note themes from Strauss, Reger, Hindemith and Bartók in an earlier chapter.

But the greatest misdirection of effort in the book is the devotion of so much space to the only slightly relevant concept of the *Grundgestalt*, or "basic shape", as it is translated. The concept itself, or the formulation of it, is of questionable validity at best, and Rufer's references to it are vague and imprecise. His attempts to relate it to the twelve-note row show an even greater confusion. On p. 29 he says that the *Grundgestalt* "corresponds in its significance and functions to the 'basic series' of twelve-note music"; on p. 81 that the series "is implicit in the basic conception, and is derived from it"; and on p. 45 that the thematic material "arises out of the basic set [series]". Although not entirely contradictory, these statements are inconsistent and confused. Even granted the validity of the concept of the *Grundgestalt*, it is clear that this may be, and almost must be, something quite different from the series, which is nothing more than the tonality or tonal basis of the work. One series may be presented in many different ways, each of which might serve as a *Grundgestalt* for a different work—just as there are many different ways of presenting the progression I-IV-V-I in C major as possible *Grundgestalten* for as many different works. The most probable relationship between the *Grundgestalt* and the note-row, and the one that accords best with Schoenberg's insistence on the intuitiveness and spontaneity of his compositional conceptions, is that the note-row is implicit in or derived from the *Grundgestalt*.

This is the interpretation that Rufer adheres to in his practical analyses of Schoenberg's works and exposition of his method and technique (see for instance p. 92). These analyses, although made very inconvenient to follow by the relegation of the music examples to an appendix at the end of the book, are excellent, and make a much more convincing argument for Schoenberg's method, and more important for his creative musical genius, than all the laboured, woolly, defensive

sophistry of the earlier part of the book. This is true of many other pages where the apologist's tone is abjured and Rufer makes some good points and illuminating comments. Particularly good are the comments on the importance of recurring intervals and interval-sequences (pp. 100-3), on the significance of rhythm in Schoenberg's music (pp. 64 and 117), as giving coherence and aiding recognition, and on the uses of mirror-forms (pp. 84-85—particularly the last eight lines of the section). Other comments appear more questionable. The statement, without amplification, that "transpositions function in a similar manner to modulations in tonal music" (p. 86) is very inadequate. Roberto Gerhard has discussed this much more informatively elsewhere.

One striking point is the stress on relationships at the fifth (pp. 133-34 in particular, but also elsewhere), which may be seized on by unsympathetic readers at both extremes as a clinging to a fundamental tonal principle, proving to reactionaries the invalidity of the whole method and to radicals Schoenberg's lack of courage in this incomplete renunciation of tonality. This would be worth a special study.

As an appendix there are some comments by younger twelve-note composers (Blacher, Dallapiccola, Fortner, Gerhard, Henze, Hoffmann, Jelinek, Křenek, Liebermann, Searle, Seiber, Wagner-Régeny and Zillig), which are as interesting and instructive as anything else in the book, and more persuasive. Rufer acts on his own initiative in adding to twelve-note theory only in his objections to the use of two note-rows in one work (pp. 106-10), which are unconvincing and anti-Schoenbergian in spirit. But although, because of its faults, the book is not recommended as an instrument of persuasion, it will be found very valuable by anybody already converted who wishes to learn more about the practice and possibilities of the method and can fight his way to the excellent exposition of that through the barrage of well-meaning, ill-expressed, sentimental and illogical sales-talk beneath which it is hidden.

Neither book is in anything that can properly be called English. In the Schoenberg Mr. Searle inexcusably allows "part-leading" as a compromise between "voice-leading" and "part-writing", and the constant use of "substitute" as an intransitive verb. And his translation of Rufer is painfully literal, doing continual violence to English usage and idiom in order to reproduce the original usage and idiom, instead of genuinely translating it.

C. M.

The Artist in Modern Society: Essays and Statements collected by UNESCO. pp. 128. (UNESCO Publications, 1954.) 5s.

Musical Creation and the Listener. By Geoffrey Bush. pp. 121. (Muller, London, 1954.) 8s. 6d.

The UNESCO publication contains the "general statements" by various creative artists which were commissioned to serve as bases of discussion at the International Conference of Artists at Venice in 1952, and the piece on 'The Musician in Modern Society' is by Arthur Honegger. He says at the beginning exactly what Dr. Bush says near the end of his straightforward little book—the modern composer has lost touch with his public. His "overriding concern is to produce a commodity for which there is no demand. He may be compared to a manufacturer of old-fashioned bowler hats, button boots, or 'mystery' corsets"

(what on earth are those?), says Honegger. "Whereas a Beethoven symphony may receive ten performances in as many weeks, [the modern composer] can think himself lucky if his own work receives as many in the course of a lifetime", says Dr. Bush. And so on.

M. Honegger goes on, after debunking prestige conductors, festivals ("those who profit are the railway companies, hotels and restaurants") and films ("Composers' . . . poor relations") to make definite recommendations, of which the most interesting is "Education, starting in the primary school, by making music a compulsory subject like drawing . . . begin with contemporary composers and work gradually back towards the classics . . . the foremost concern should be to train listeners, 'consumers' of music, eager students of the musical art, not would-be professionals such as the academies of music turn out."

Alas, if only it were as simple as that! It is impossible to imagine a parent saying proudly "My son is training to be a listener". And, on a wider view, surely no such pragmatic approach, purely within *musical* terms of reference, will solve the profound socio-religious problem of which all this is merely one aspect. The hydrogen-bomb era naturally longs for the classic security and order of the eighteenth century; the agnostic is moved by Palestrina; the Average Listener gets all the change, flux and experiment he wants in his morning paper.

M. Honegger, it is true, is pleading for *modern* music. Dr. Bush's remarks come at the end of a plea for music in general, made to—of whom? To the Average Listener again? His book seems to be addressed to a reasonably intelligent, very young man, ready to listen to music, who will like such things as the comparison of a fugue to a debate, the *stretto* being two or three speakers speaking at once. All academic rationalizations are looked at with suspicion, yet somehow the rational framework of music is delineated, often with charm and humour. This is doubtless gilding the pill; but this reviewer is not ashamed to admit having learnt something from it. So Köchel was a *botanist*!

P. J.

The Fundamentals of Singing. By Charles Kennedy Scott. pp. 439. (Cassell, London. 1954.) 42s.

The large number of books on singing and the small amount of knowledge to be gained from them suggests that either the subject is virtually indescribable or that the authors are particularly ineffectual with the pen; let us say that the dishonours are equally divided. However, the lack of success that so often attends these efforts by no means diminishes the flow of new books. Mr. Charles Kennedy Scott, whose name is linked with triumphs of choral singing, has ventured again into the dangerous territory with a book of great length.

Mr. Scott's long devotion to the art is itself enough to give the book a special interest. But he has more justification for writing than merely to display devotion: he has learnt a great deal about his subject and gives the result of a large and rich experience. His comments on breathing go a long way towards the heart of the matter, and many a singer will find that Mr. Scott has the answer to troubles which are commoner than individual sufferers realize.

While the author's wide knowledge can be appreciated, it is to be feared that this is not an ideal text-book. There is such a mass of detail

that it needs a reader also of wide experience to sift out the essentials; the young singer may well think that if so much has to be known, singing must be impossible until one is past it physically. The intention to say everything that can be said would be admirable in a definitive book on singing; but such a book is out of the question, and the most a writer can hope to do is to lay down principles on which the reader can graft his own detail. The instructions given here on every conceivable point so far obscure the major problems that the scheme of the book fails to take shape. Whether Mr. Scott is right in his basic approach to singing is debatable, though in this respect he is well supported by tradition. Apparently his method is to deal with the individual parts of the body in an endeavour to make a synthetic unity. Lips, soft palate and so on are discussed as if the conscious mind had cognizance of such things when it demands of the body a certain result. We speak by imitation, and no amount of manipulation on the body will give an Englishman a French accent, nor will conscious meddling with the throat assist it in its delicate job of finding the best position for resonance and at the same time produce the two or more notes that each of a rapidly changing vowel-chain seems to require. Since science of a sort has been called on to explain singing, it would be interesting to have the views of a neurologist on the advisability of trying to interfere between the conscious mind and the "end result".

H. O.

Northern Indian Music. By Alain Daniélou. Vol. II, pp. 248. (Halcyon Press, London, under the auspices of U.N.E.S.C.O., 1954.) 30s.

In 1949 Christopher Johnson in London and Visva Bharati in Calcutta published the first volume of M. Daniélou's 'Northern Indian Music'.¹ The Halcyon Press now brings out the second volume and has reissued the first in a new jacket, conforming to that of the second and showing the author playing the North Indian type of vina.

It is a pity that in the years between the publication of the first and second volumes the author apparently did not have an opportunity for revision. He would very likely have welcomed the chance of correcting some inaccuracies, fallacies and errors. Inaccuracies such as the mention of chapter 38 of the Benares edition of the 'Nāṭyaśāstra', which contains only 36 chapters, and the information that music is treated in chapters 28, 29 and 38, whereas in fact it occupies chapters 28-33 (Vol. I, p. 139, bibliography). Fallacies such as the division of the octave into sixty-six intervals (Vol. I, pp. 45-46): "The Indian history of music considers that a normal ear can easily perceive sixty-six distinct intervals within the compass of an octave . . .", whereas in fact the number sixty-six, where it occurs, refers to the three times twenty-two *śrutis* within the range of the three recognized octaves. Errors such as the strange notion that Brahmanism had been an underground movement for a thousand years and that then, emerging victoriously, it "wiped out Buddhism from the whole Indian continent in hardly more than a few decades" (Vol. I, p. 16). In fact, Brahmanism and Buddhism co-existed in India for more than fifteen hundred years. The last traces of the latter as an independent religion did not disappear before well into the Mohammedan period, after A.D. 1200. It can still be found as a substratum of many forms of

¹ Reviewed in *MUSIC & LETTERS*, June 1950.

popular religion, even among the Moslems of East Bengal. Throughout these long centuries we see them borrowing from one another, with the result that many a Hindu sect can hardly be distinguished from its Buddhist counterpart. Round about the seventh century of our era a strong Brahminical renaissance took place, which indeed succeeded in widening its domain by stages, resulting in the final disappearance of Buddhism as an independent religion, but after five or six centuries, not a few decades. In Nepal the two can still be found living side by side.

This historical absurdity, however, propounded at the beginning of Vol. I, is unfortunately an essential component of M. Daniélou's explanation of the theory of Indian music. Without Brahmanism victimized by persecutions the alleged disappearance of a primordial perfect system of music, closely resembling the late medieval system, is not explicable, and without the medieval scholastic elaborations M. Daniélou's explanation of the early genesis of *ragas* and *raginis* in Vol. II is impossible.

What Indian music really shows in the succession of theoretical texts that have come down to us is a modal system that had settled into its permanent and unshakable framework at an early date, possibly as early as the second century B.C. From then onwards scope for development existed only in further refinements within that frame. The consequence was a succession of more and more subtle analyses and an ever-deepening probing of emotional impulses.

What M. Daniélou tries to do is to explain the purely musical origin of this modal framework—a direct outcome of the scale as it developed in the different stages of Vedic liturgy—with the help of the purely emotional super-sophistications of the days of the Moghuls as surviving in the different schools established by famous musicians of those days. To each of the twenty-two *śrutis*—i.e. tonal subdivisions of the octave—one out of five emotional qualities is ascribed (pathetic, tender, loving, etc.). Each interval has a well-definable effect in accordance with the character of the *śruti* which limits its size, measured against the stable and unchanging basic note of the scale, the *Sa*. Accidentals produce a change of emotional impact of the standard interval according to the nature of the new final *śruti*. This can be compared with a phenomenon in our musical practice. If our normal major third is felt to denote brightness, the lessening by "one *śruti*" would introduce an element of sadness. The effect of brightness would be increased if the major third were taken larger than its normal size in the course of a performance.

In addition to this hairsplittingly detailed emotional analysis of each of the twenty-two possible tonal divisions, we find that the mode as a whole—built up as it is out of a kaleidoscopic combination of emotional shades—was felt to make a masculine or a feminine impression which, in course of time, gave rise to the term *raga* for the male and *ragini* for the female modal sequences. Once established, the process of personification was carried to its logical conclusion, and so we find, from the fifteenth or sixteenth century onwards, often exquisitely beautiful paintings and strongly pictorial lines of poetry portraying those many and varied personages.

Despite M. Daniélou's claim that these late medieval tonal-emotional relationships are universally valid, we see that in fact there is a strong individual element in these ascriptions. This may easily be understood

if we recall the different opinions on colour sensations evoked by certain kinds of intervals. On p. 128 of Vol. II even the author's own Sanskrit quotations (not the translations) contradict his dogma, since of the three sets of lines of poetry describing the same *raga* the first and last depict a woman, the middle one a man.

What are the results M. Daniélou arrives at on these premises? Firstly, that the original *ragas* were the pentatonic scales, on account of the unmixed quality of their intervals. "Because of their forceful character these pentatonic scales were known to ancient music as male *ragas*" (Vol. II, Introd., p. 2). Secondly, that the subsequent creation of hexatonic and pentatonic scales resulted in the birth of the *raginis*. If this were true, it would certainly bring order into the chaos of the North Indian *ragas* and *raginis* and enable us to establish a system different from but as useful as that devised in South India some two centuries ago. That system, however, bases itself on purely musical facts and not on subjective emotional effects. It recognizes seventy-two main *ragas*, divided into two parallel groups of thirty-six. The first thirty-six have a perfect, the second, otherwise completely similar group, an augmented fourth. These two groups of thirty-six are then subdivided according to a systematic progression of accidentals, somewhat like the increasing number of sharps and flats in our own system.

M. Daniélou's system, however, does not work, as there is no trace of the priority of pentatonic over heptatonic scales in any of the available theoretical texts. Bharata's seven *śuddha* (pure) *jatis*, or primary modes, the basis of the whole system, are heptatonic. Pentatonality and hexatonality are mentioned as secondary characteristics and occur only in some of the eleven derived *jatis*. The most ancient text on the theory of music thus not only fails to consider pentatonic scales as primary, but does not even know the phenomenon *raga*, in the sense of mode with a well-defined emotional implication. Where the word *raga* occurs as in "*jātirāga*" (*Nāṭyaśāstra, XXVIII, verse 35), it means the colouring of a *jati* by the skilful mixing of the available accidentals, an embryonic form of the later conception. Not before the tenth century does Matanga give the first exposition of *raga* as a distinct musical phenomenon, claiming that this had not been previously expounded either by Bharata or by his successors. Matanga's *ragas*, however, do not put the pentatonic scales first, but keep very close to the heptatonic *jatis* as given by Bharata. Later still we find the differentiation into male and female and the further consequences of this anthropomorphic tendency.

In strong contrast to the decidedly unsound basis of M. Daniélou's theoretical explanations is the practical material given in both volumes. He has studied Indian music for many years under a famous musician in Benares. His knowledge of technical matters is well founded and the many musical examples given on the strength of his practical knowledge are valuable, especially those in the volume under review. In view of the present cataclysm of Indian musical values it is important to possess a reliable record of the traditions of at least one of the recognized authoritative teachers of the beautiful classical music of India.

A. A. B.

The History of Music in Sound. Ed. by Gerald Abraham. Vol. V: *Opera and Church Music (1630-1750)*, pp. 55; Vol. VI: *The Growth of Instrumental Music (1630-1750)*, pp. 51. (Oxford University Press, 1954. 10s. 6d. each). Records, ed. by J. A. Westrup, issued by H.M.V.

The specially selected records to which these booklets act as guides are designed to run parallel with the 'New Oxford History of Music' and to serve, as it were, as aural illustrations for that monumental work, which, however, they are outrunning by a considerable distance. They have now arrived at the middle of the eighteenth century, whereas the History, as a review on another page shows, has gone only as far as 1300, and even then by a leap over antiquity, the second volume having been published ahead of the first. However, it will all come level in due course, and in the meantime the records and their annotations will do much to clarify musical history in the minds of those who like to study it by ear.

The choice of examples is admirably made, though of necessity both arbitrary and discontinuous. It is easy enough to find gaps—so easy that one may be sure they must have been as obvious to Professors Westrup and Abraham as to any critic; but while others have merely to sit down and find fault, Professor Abraham had the far more difficult task of making the most of Professor Westrup's choice and explaining it in his Introductions. One may feel, for instance, that German sacred music is given too much room in comparison with French, or even with early English opera. Two sides given up to Bach's St. John Passion, for instance, a work which after all can be studied elsewhere easily enough, could have been usefully devoted to something from a sacred work by Marc-Antoine Charpentier or Lalande and perhaps two of the admirably contrasted arias from 'The Judgment of Paris' by John Eccles, a much finer work dating from a decade before Handel's coming to London than is generally realized. In Vol. VI it is less easy to detect evident gaps at a first glance, which is the more commendable because vocal music overflows into the first nineteen pages of it.

All said and done, the choice may be pronounced satisfactory so far. Whether it will be so farther on is another matter. Thinking ahead, one becomes conscious of some apprehension, not because confidence in the editors is in the least likely to diminish, but because the selection will become more and more of a difficult problem. Early music, it is true, is harder to unearth than later works, and much more so to edit and perform authentically. But it is also much easier to show in a representative selection. All early music is rare and therefore likely to be new to those who want to study it with the aid of these special records. But presently the problem will arise whether the choice is to go on being confined to rarities, or whether familiar masterpieces should be exhibited as being, after all, the really representative music of the latter half of the eighteenth century and the whole of the nineteenth. (The twentieth will be less of a problem again, or at any rate less of this particular problem.) Vol. VIII, for instance, is going to be entitled 'The Age of Beethoven'. Is Beethoven to be once again recorded? If so, specimens from two or three very familiar works of his will have to be shown, for he will not be adequately demonstrated with his inferior work, which is the only part of

his output that is not familiar. Or again, is the whole of Beethoven to be taken for granted, or left to already existing records to expound? But then, what sort of a view of his period will his minor contemporaries give? Again, the nineteenth century becomes so crowded with major composers that there will be no room left for minor figures, and here the problem will indeed become acute. Is that century to be illustrated with masterpieces which everybody knows, with less than masterly work by their composers, with nothing but runners-up or with a mixture of all these that cannot possibly contain enough of anything? It will be most interesting to see how these questions are going to be answered.

The presentation of the booklets, as was to be expected where so experienced an editor as Professor Abraham is concerned, is most admirable, they are handsomely printed, with beautifully clear music type for the numerous examples. The words of all the vocal music are given in full, in the original language followed by an English translation, and the annotations, terse as they are, contain all kinds of interesting and accurate information. At first sight it seems a little odd that the cadence of a recitative from Keiser on p. 27 of Vol. V is printed as written, with the usual apparent clash of tonic and dominant, due to the convention that all recitative (except in French music) must be forced into four-square common-time bars, and not as it actually sounds, with the continuo chords after the voice. It is easy enough to isolate the instrumental dominant chord by some kind of bracket. But, on second thoughts, those who study these notes with the records, as they should do, will after all hear what is going on, exactly as they will hear the treatment of the figured basses, which is not shown in the printed examples, partly for reasons of space, but also, no doubt, to avoid giving the impression that the "realizations" performed in these records are the only authentic or possible ones.

E. B.

Richard Strauss: Briefe an die Eltern, 1882-1906. Ed. by Willi Schuh. pp. 304 + Indices. (Atlantis-Verlag, Zürich, 1954.) *Richard Strauss: Recollections and Reflections.* Ed. by Willi Schuh, trans. by L. J. Laurence. pp. 167 + Notes and Bibliography. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1953). 8s. 6d.

These two books, together with the complete reprint of the Strauss-Hofmannsthal correspondence, contain by far the most important Straussian published since the composer's death, and an invaluable record of his life and trends of thought. 'Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen' were issued by Atlantis in 1949; a French translation is now followed by an English one. This is certainly the most interesting of the three to the casual music-lover: it contains much sane, penetrating comment on Mozart, Wagner, opera, conducting, the composer mind, his attitude (not at all unsympathetic) to the critic, and on Strauss's own life and works. Here are the famous hints to conductors and the valuable preface to 'Capriccio'; here is a recollective tribute to Bülow, who gave Strauss his first chance as conductor, and a delightful chapter of reminiscences of Strauss operas. The German volume has been reviewed in these pages already. Now it appears in English, and so commands the attention of every literate music-loving person. It must, however, be

said that the translator has slipped badly in several places, literally and musically: the scherzo in the 'Eroica' leads away from, not to, the funeral march, crotchets are not the same as four beats to the bar, *Plastik* is not the same as plastic (not in 1954), Wagner wrote no opera called 'Elsa', nor do we call Gounod's best-known opera 'Margarethe' (though the Germans do). It is strange to find a music publisher allowing these howlers to reach the public. And it is regrettable that somebody in Boosey & Hawkes did not read the proofs more thoroughly: there are a good many mistakes, some of which have trickled over from the German original: what, please, is Donna Anna's letter aria?

The 'Letters to My Parents' do not teach us much about the mind of the mature artist, as do the letters to Hofmannsthal and the Recollections. But to anyone interested in the child as father to the man, or the process of artistic maturing, or in the blunt details of Strauss's life, this new volume is of absorbing interest. Three elements are worth singling out: the recurrent pleas of father Strauss that his son should remember the value of melody and the respect due to honest orchestral musicians—a plangent refrain as young Richard advanced farther on the road that was to lead to 'Elektra'; the unpleasant streak of antisemitism, certainly acquired from Ritter, which caused an unnecessary but mercifully temporary estrangement from Bülow (who was not a Jew) as well as a hatred of Hormann Levi (who was) that changed completely when Strauss had occasion to spend some time with him out of Ritter's sight; and the news that Frau Pauline was a sore trial to her parents-in-law in the months following her marriage—there is a pitifully loyal letter from the young husband to his family on this subject.

For the reader who can take time off from seeking dates and places visited (this reviewer has a particular and as yet private reason for such rummaging) the volume brings further insight into the charming humanity and broad, active culture of the young musician. The visit to Italy is fully described in the letters to Bülow printed in the 'Strauss Jahrbuch 1954'; but other travels, and visits to museums, show that Strauss had a genuine and informed appreciation of painting and the beginnings of that passion for philosophy that led him, in his old age, to sit down and read through the works of Goethe, scientific treatises and all, from A to Z. The volume is exceedingly well documented and indexed; everyone is identified in a footnote.

W. M.

Schriften des Landesinstituts für Musikforschung, Kiel: I—Die Handschrift A.R. 940/41 der Proske-Bibliothek zu Regensburg. By Wilfried Brennecke; II—Die Responsorienvertonungen des Balthasar Resinarius. By Inge-Maria Schröder. (Bärenreiter-Verlag, Cassel, 1953.)

One cannot help but admire the continual support given by German publishers to writers of monographs and theses on musical subjects. Work of this kind is too frequently allowed to remain unpublished, especially here and in America, although the latter country has recently made a number of theses available on microfilm. Some of this literature, of course, is hardly worth filming, let alone publishing. But by careful choice of material and by modest and inexpensive presentation Bärenreiter have managed to publish the first two volumes of a

new and important series without cutting the original typescripts unduly; and what is more, they have been generous in the matter of musical and pictorial illustrations.

Dr. Brennecke's book is concerned with one manuscript, or rather a set of five part-books, compiled by a certain Wolfgang Küffer of Ratibon between 1557 and 1559. Küffer was a high official of the Gymnasium Poeticum of that city, and his many associates in the life of the University of Wittenberg (where he had previously studied) appear by name in one of the part-books. This has led to a historical study of the musical background, besides an extremely useful account of the music contained in the anthology itself. The 314 compositions have been carefully split up into groups according to text and genre, and many concordances are given.

The net could with advantage have been cast much wider, and the intriguing anonymous compositions ('Gallicum quid', 'Gallicum sine nomine') traced to their source, undoubtedly French *chansons* published about the middle of the sixteenth century. Many of the titles are corrupt almost to the point of being unrecognizable—No. 104, listed as 'Josiante vocis' is actually Claudin de Sermisy's 'Jouissance vous donneray'; No. 105, listed as 'Amisso frou' is none other than 'Amy souffrez que je vous aime', attributed to both Claudin and Moulu. Thanks to the thematic list of compositions which Brennecke was unable to trace, and therefore included as the final supplement to his book, it is possible to show how extraordinarily wide was the taste of a musical amateur like Küffer, living and working very much within the boundaries of his own country, if not of his own institution of learning.

Many of the coloured drawings in the original, which probably justified Proske's description of the manuscript as "remarkable", are reproduced in half-tone. The shepherd with his bagpipes and the domestic concert of lute and organ make new contributions to our knowledge of musical iconography.

The second volume is devoted to a study of the 'Responsorium numero octoginta . . .' of Balthasar Resinarius, published by Rhau in 1543. Resinarius, who was a Catholic resident of the north-Bohemian town of Tetschen, and not (as was hitherto thought) a follower of the Hussite movement, is cautiously related to two other composers, one of whom was born in the same town and lived exactly the same kind of life. His name was Balthasar Harzer, and since Harzer in Latin is Resinarius, previous scholars have assumed the two to be identical. Dr. Schröder, not content with reopening the question of identity, and laying claims for a new *Doppelmeister*, brings in a mysterious character called B.H., and thereby nearly succeeds in inventing a *Tripelmeister*.

There are a great many musical illustrations, the scores being shown in *Mensurstrich* transcription, which is perfectly clear and allows internal and individual rhythms to stand out as they should. But when single-line examples are used the bar-line which is usually drawn between the staves is drawn through them, as if *Taktstrich* were intended. The confusion which this occasionally causes, for example on pp. 55 and 56, is rather regrettable. The bibliographical supplement is satisfactory; the bibliography less so. It would appear to be worth while, when mentioning the first two parts of Isaac's 'Choralis Constantinus' in their

modern edition, to mention also the completion of this work by the University of Michigan Press (Louise Cuyler). Dr. Schröder's work is nevertheless a valuable addition to our knowledge of an important but little-known field of musical activity.

D. S.

Bibliographie des Musikschristtums: 1950-1951. By Wolfgang Schmieder. pp. 247. (Hofmeister, Frankfurt o/M.; Novello, London, 1954.) 45s.

One of the most useful and comprehensive pre-war reference works in the field of musical literature was Kurt Taut's 'Bibliographie des Musikschristtums'. It appeared first in 1937. After his regretted death, the volumes for 1938 and 1939 were edited by Georg Karstädt. The war prevented the issue of the volume for 1940, but the thread is now taken up by Dr. Wolfgang Schmieder, whose name became universally known in 1950 for his great Bach 'Werkverzeichnis'. He ventures to hope in the preface to the present 'Bibliographie' that the gap from 1940 to 1949 may be retrospectively filled later on: meanwhile, there is much to be grateful for in the present volume, which we are assured will be continued at two-yearly intervals.

The sources used by Professor Schmieder total 241, of which 136 are largely or wholly concerned with music, both books and periodicals. The largest national group in these is drawn, not unnaturally, from Germany, which contributed 107. U.S.A. comes second with 43, Britain third with 26 and France and Austria fourth equal with 13 each. The other contributing countries with smaller totals, from seven to only one, number nineteen. These include a welcome number of journals published in Russia and Eastern Europe. Such a comprehensive coverage is most laudable, but there are, inevitably, some omissions and inconsistencies. All the important English journals seem to be represented except 'The Gramophone' and the 'Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society'. The omission of the former is all the more extraordinary in view of the inclusion of several far smaller periodicals devoted to the gramophone. Again, the Magazine of the Royal College of Music is in, but that of the Royal Academy is not. Some of the less well known non-British journals have intriguing titles, such as the 'Pan Pipes of Sigma Alpha Zeta', published at Fort Worth, Texas. In general the list of periodicals is comprehensive, while the choice of book-sources is equally sound. References to the periodicals are mercifully given in full, with precise specification of pages: there are no abbreviations.

The result is over 5,600 entries, arranged under eight groups, with detailed subdivisions. There are many internal cross-references, and a number of important entries, covering more than one aspect of a topic, are doubled. It is always easy to disagree with placings in any work of classification. This one is no exception, but the accurate labours that have gone into its pages would make it ungenerous to niggle over details. As the subjects covered range from Sequences to BeBop, no one can accuse Professor Schmieder of a narrow outlook. He has rounded off and unified his book with four indices, occupying in all forty pages—Subjects, Places, Names and Authors. Here we find the threads which bind together an indispensable work of reference that worthily carries on the 150-year-old traditions of the firm of Friedrich Hofmeister.

A. H. K.

REVIEWS OF MUSIC

The Midsummer Marriage. Opera. By Michael Tippett. Vocal Score. (Schott, 63s.)

The most important of the new publications is Michael Tippett's opera, to be produced at Covent Garden before long. It is a work impossible to assess adequately from the vocal score, though the performances of the Ritual Dances have given an idea of its orchestral quality. Vocally it is equally rich. The chorus has a considerable and difficult part, and the soloists have virtuoso lines, taxing not for their intervals but for their florid exuberance, reminiscent of the style of 'Boyhood's End' or of the disregard for vocal limitations of the almost instrumental style of some of Bach's writing for voices.

In its dramatic theme and treatment the opera has a close and obviously intentional resemblance to 'The Magic Flute', a dangerous model which other composers have always fought shy of. Tippett's plot is equally fantastic and unreal, and the characters are not so much persons as symbols—though one may not be sure of what. There is rather less incident than in Mozart, and what there is has possibly less pretension to even any illusion of reality, so that the story does not make much sense on a superficial level for those to whom the symbolism may be unintelligible, or obscure, or tiresome. And those to whom it is interesting may find it hard to follow when, as in the final scene, two pairs of soloists and the chorus are all singing different homilies to point the moral. But although the outline of the work and the treatment of it are not in the normal sense dramatic, the work is very much conceived as a spectacle for the theatre, as well as a vehicle for Tippettian philosophizing. The various dances are an integral part of the dramatic scheme, and there are many well-thought-out directions for stage effects that should be a challenge and a stimulus to both designer and producer. This confirms, as we know from Tippett's writings and talks, that he has thought a great deal about the problems of opera and drama, and past solutions of them. Few of us have been able to follow his labyrinthine thoughts very far, and this outcome of them must cause some questioning whether he has not, in his absorption in the æsthetic theory of the musical-dramatic-poetic-visual-choreographic art, rather let himself lose touch with practical necessities. But the same might be said of Wagner, with whose approach Tippett's has clearly something in common, and the music has only (if "only" is the right word) to be of that quality to make an effective opera. The Ritual Dances promised well, and although they seemed very complex for theatre music, and especially for dancing, their complexity is not so much in the basic musical content as in the elaborate ornamentation, found in much of his music. The rest of the score looks equally exciting, and shows the same characteristics. It is entirely unsymphonic in structure, unlike for instance Britten's operas, but gains its coherence from a consistency of style excluding much of that variety of elements that Britten makes use of, and from much repetition which will no doubt gain point

in its dramatic context. The general musical style seems to be something like an attempted synthesis of Mozartian and Wagnerian operatic conceptions. Only the performance of this fascinating work will reveal how far its ambitious design succeeds.

C. M.

An Anthology of English Lute Music (16th century). Transcribed and edited by David Lumsden. (Schott, 12s. 6d.)

Who was Francis Cutting? Had he written for keyboard instead of for lute the question had been laughable, like asking who was Orlando Gibbons. Yet here he stands, a composer of the greatest skill and command, in this volume inferior, if to anyone, only to Dowland and to be reverently named. What a thrilling compensation it must have been to Mr. Lumsden for many hours of tedious labour at deciphering and comparing tablatures to stand before such a superbly shaped and effortlessly powerful piece as his Galliard (No. 8 of this anthology) with its beautifully arched curves and sequences, or No. 25, the disarming yet subtle 'Walsingham' variations. Dowland is the other great figure with three great chromatic fancies (the third unsigned yet probably his) and among other things 'Lachrimae Pavane' and 'Master Piper's Galliard', alias his 'If my complaints', an interesting example of the song transcription which especially for the amateur must have constituted much of the lute's repertory. A huge repertory it was, as both Mr. Lumsden and Mr. Dart, who writes an introduction, show, and one cannot better underline the significance of this collection than to quote Mr. Dart:

... the high importance and great beauty of English lute-music is now fully apparent, perhaps for the first time since it passed out of fashion some three hundred and twenty-five years ago. . . . [This] is no more than a foretaste of the riches awaiting the lover of Elizabethan and Jacobean music, riches that lose little of their splendour even when they are played on the clavichord, the harpsichord, the pianoforte or the guitar.

Mr. Lumsden claims that those few lutenists now able to play this music should be able to do so from the notation which, where necessary, contains fingering symbols. For the keyboard a few notes have occasionally been added to maintain the implications of the harmony. Since it was clearly important to print as much music as possible there was no space for a complete *apparatus criticus*, but the scholarly concision of the editor's notes on the pieces instil confidence enough in his judgement.

The balance is well held between the various types of piece, for beside the staple of pavans, galliards, fancies and variations there are almans, currants—and a volt, here demonstrably the same thing as a currant—jigs and among other things a 'Militis Dump' which is yet another to defy the etymological notion of the sadness that seems to have been too easily accepted. The only unchanging characteristic of a dump seems to have been its *ostinato* basis, and even this varies between one and another.

One looks, then, at history—and at men like John Johnson—with new eyes. Perhaps it is a survival of lute technique whereby Bach writes his broken chords for keyboard in mock counterpoint, and again the lute's frequent and charming momentary delay of the melody while demands of

bass on harmony are met may be the counterpart, to say no more, of that madrigalian setting of "sighs" and "sighing" which Morley noted as a commonplace of the period.

I. K.

Liszt Society Publications, Vol. III. (Schott, 15s.) *Sonata No. 2*. For Piano. By Kenneth Leighton. (Lengnick.) *Five Preludes*. For Piano. By Christopher Headington. (Chester, 3s. 6d.)

The third volume of the Liszt Society's series contains miscellaneous Hungarian and funeral music. There are two pieces "in the Hungarian style" which date from before the canonic Hungarian Rhapsodies. Both are unfinished, but the first is nearly enough complete to be rounded off here with Louis Kentner's concert ending. It is a spirited piece with consistent march-like material, its strong melodies embellished with well-conceived figuration in rhetorical style. Five short and unpretentious arrangements of Hungarian folksongs make an acceptable suite of bagatelles, technically easy, whereas 'Csárdas obstiné' is at once difficult and threadbare. The other pieces in the volume, with the exception of the curious inchoate 'Schlaflos, Frage und Antwort', are in elegiac style. Of these the most successful is *Elegy No. 1*, a very beautiful piece making most of its effect with constant and subtle enharmonic modulations. *Elegy No. 2* is, despite some interesting harmony, altogether more halting and repetitive. The nearest we get in this volume to some of the breathtaking pieces of Vol. I is 'Funeral Music for Mosonyi', a somewhat patchy piece but full of original strokes.

In his second piano Sonata Kenneth Leighton makes a notable advance in his writing for the medium. Both style and harmony are decidedly taut, and without going to extremes the music is able to express succinctly and directly a considerable emotional power. The last movement is a fine theme and variations. One wonders whether the music should have been allowed to slip, however beautifully, back to the elegiac mood of the slow movement, whether a more vigorous and vehement end might not have carried more conviction. Even so the music is fine as it stands—and grateful to play.

Grateful, too, are the Preludes by Christopher Headington, somewhat reminiscent in their breezy, colourful and engaging way of Lennox Berkeley, and certainly none the worse for that.

I. K.

Symphony No. 2. By William Alwyn. Miniature Score. (Lengnick, 10s.) *Chamber Concerto*. For Piano, Wind and Percussion. By Karl-Birger Blomdahl. Two-piano Arrangement. (Schott, 12s. 6d.) *Concerto Leggiero*. For Piano and Strings. By George Dyson. Two-piano Arrangement. (Novello, 9s. 6d.) *Nocturne for Orchestra*, Op. 5. By Alun Hoddinott. Score. (O.U.P., 6s.)

The most notable impressions aroused by William Alwyn's second Symphony are of extravert ardour, mild harmony and of a fine flair for orchestration of the type where one can imagine the composer saying to himself "they will enjoy playing this". The music is cast in the unusual plan of only two fairly long and complementary movements. It has to

rely rather heavily on long *crescendi* and dramatic stops. It is not heaven-storming, nor does it give the impression of having secret depths in reserve, but that should not disqualify this fine piece of orchestral writing from the title of symphony.

Blomdahl's Concerto has thematic motifs common to much of the music and makes prominent use in particular of perfect and augmented fourths either melodically or superimposed as chords. Another trait of its technique is the simultaneous presentation of themes with their inversions (here perhaps carried to excessive lengths) and a good deal of come-what-may canonic writing. In fact the composer shows himself to have an assured technique of construction. But the music seems exasperatingly and fatally deficient in thematic power and emotional eloquence. In this respect we are back to the mixture-as-before-the-war. What a pity the Continent is so insular in these matters!

Sir George Dyson may modestly describe his work as "leggiero", and it is melodically and harmonically suave to a degree that spells ease to the listener; but the solo part is not easy and the composer has not spared himself pains of craftsmanship. His form is anything but perfunctory: he favours truncated recapitulations and in the last movement is not above calling in the first movement instead.

Hoddinott's 'Nocturne' is quietly ruminative for the most part, without bearings as to key, but as in some of Bartók's contrapuntal slow movements the complex melismatic web is held together by the persistent but flexible use of characteristic intervals. There are one or two apparently congested places where dissonant lines trip over each other to their mutual detriment, but there is no mistaking the surefooted individuality and sense of atmosphere of the piece. The score is not large, but first-rate playing is needed to realize its delicate and complicated sonorities.

I. K.

The Nun's Priest's Tale, for chorus and orchestra. By Gordon Jacob. (Words by Chaucer; modern English by Nevill Coghill.) Vocal Score. (Novello, 10s.) *A Song of Welcome*, for soprano, baritone, chorus and orchestra. By Arthur Bliss. (Words by Cecil Day Lewis.) Vocal Score. (Novello, 5s.) *Missa Sabrinensis*, for soprano, contralto, tenor, baritone, chorus and orchestra. By Herbert Howells. Vocal Score. (Novello.) *This Day (Hodie)*, a Christmas Cantata for soprano, tenor, baritone, chorus and orchestra. By R. Vaughan Williams. Vocal Score. (Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.)

In his lively and colourful setting of Chaucer, Dr. Gordon Jacob is at his very best—throughout he allows the splendid text to mould his lines and feed his imagination. Nowhere does he overtax the voices, and yet his vocal writing is always effective and sometimes exciting. The ten movements offer much contrast both in their mood and their employment of the vocal forces. Tenors and basses utter the words of Chanticleer, sopranos and contraltos those of Pertelote, and the whole chorus relate the narrative. Apt and entertaining is the passage in which Chanticleer pompously displays his learning by recalling the opinions of the Old Testament and the schoolmen concerning dreams; here the composer

superimposes Pertelote's various suggestions of prescriptions for preventing his nightmarish dreams ("Worms for a day or two I'll have to give as a digestive, then your laxative. Centaury, fumit'ry, caperspurge and hellebore will make a splendid purge"). It is perhaps not insignificant that at the first mention of this medicinal treatment the composer's direction is *tranquillo ma poco con moto*. The lurking of the fox (*andante alla marcia, misterioso*) is well portrayed, and at the words "Now let me turn again to tell my tale" there is a happy return to the chorus's first music. The lovely ending, which gives the moral, is an unaccompanied chorale. This work displays the composer's many abilities; there is much effective counterpoint—the mere mention of "schoolmen", or a "discussion", draws imitation or a fugue, and "woman's counsel" a canon 2 in 1! The sad thing about a secular work of these dimensions is the lack of opportunity for performance.

The Master of the Queen's Music composed the 'Song of Welcome' for the occasion of the royal return in May of last year. It is noble, direct music, and Sir Arthur Bliss is as much at home with "a common warmth of home and kin" as he is with "pomp and panoply" and "the gadgets and gauges, the factory's clatter". This is occasional music of the best kind.

The 'Missa Sabrinensis' was one of the two major works for the Three Choirs Festival at Worcester this year. The impression after the first performance and now a study of the vocal score leaves one in no doubt that it does not reach the level of 'Hymnus Paradisi'. Dr. Howells has, undoubtedly, developed a strong personal style—a style which many may not like, but which most must admire. This style flowered in 'Hymnus Paradisi', but the new work reaches beyond the earlier one, and in so doing seems to break its bounds. There are moments of great beauty in the Mass, and the less complex passages, such as "Et resurrexit" (p. 105) and "Laudamuste" (p. 33), stand out as shafts of light from the prevailing thickness of texture. The many cases of simultaneous complex rhythms perhaps enter the realm of academicism—they are logical and explicable on black and white but in the orbit of sound and experience they not only fail to achieve an object but are self-destructive. It may be dangerous to criticize the use of textual superimposition; it has been done before, but for the express purpose of shortening an otherwise over-lengthy composition, and in any case this was coincident with medieval thought. The passage on p. 144 *et seq.* is a different matter. Here the contralto and tenor have "Pleni sunt coeli" against all the other voices' "Sanctus, Dominus", and all have the complete text in the end. So this is not a case of compression, nor is the process an effective one in seven or eight parts of considerable rhythmic and harmonic complexity. Perhaps a stronger cause for criticism is the opening of this passage (p. 144), where the soprano solo and tenor solo sing a striking motif, an octave apart, one to the syllable "San(-ctus)" and the other to "Ple(ni-)". The composer makes the greatest possible demands on his singers, both soloists and chorus, not merely in that they have some very high notes to sing, but also because there are so many cases where they have to produce narrow vowel-sounds on very high notes. The soprano soloist's first entry has a top A on "Ky(-rie)", and the chorus subsequently have very high passages (p. 17) on "Chri(-ste)". The syllable "mi(-serere)" presents similar difficulties. This is all perfectly satisfactory

providing that one is not interested in the truthful presentation of words. The chorus basses are seldom the "real" bass (this is provided by the orchestral medium), a process which can be used to considerable effect, but when it becomes the rule rather than the exception, does it not lose its effect and create a feeling of instability?

The orchestral scoring is heavy and offers little relief to the contrapuntal complexity of the vocal parts. One would not envy the singer's task in surmounting the technical difficulties inherent in this work, nor the conductor's in presenting it as a finished, convincing whole.

Vaughan Williams's 'This Day' was also given its first performance at the Three Choirs Festival at Worcester last year. There are sixteen numbers, ranging from the measured recitative of the narrative to full-blooded choruses, two strophic chorales and two completely solo numbers. Several of the choruses have occasional solo passages. The composer has drawn his text from widely separated sources—from the New Testament narrative to poems by Ursula Wood. The narrative is sung by boy trebles with organ accompaniment which offers a most effective contrast to the adult voices and orchestra. It is a large-scale work taking fifty minutes for performance, and the composer, with his usual thoughtfulness, has scored it in such a way that eight of the instruments are optional, their parts being cued for alternative players.

It covers a wide range of emotion, one of the loveliest moments being the first entry of the Angel (tenor solo) where the orchestra and soloist have a haunting, mystical phrase containing a striking sharpened fourth, which recurs in two subsequent entries of the Angel. There are some arresting rhythms, particularly in the opening chorus where occasional 3-4 bars in a 6-8 tempo and *vice versa* are reminiscent of passages from Byrd's 'Laetentur Coeli' and other works of that period. The narrations form the binding link musically as well as textually, for all seven of them are thematically related. All the vocal parts lie within a normal compass: nowhere does the composer make abnormal demands on the voice in order to achieve his purpose. The orchestra is used in a masterly way to enhance climaxes or to show the voice in relief. The work is dedicated to Herbert Howells in the form of a note in which Vaughan Williams admits a "crib" from 'Hymnus Paradisi'!

B. W. G. R.

Colloque sentimental: prélude d'après le poème de Paul Verlaine & Une Cantilène jalouse. For Violin and Piano. By Jaromir Weinberger. (Boosey & Hawkes, 4s. each.) *The Fairy's Kiss.* Ballet. By Igor Stravinsky. Piano Score. (Boosey & Hawkes, 15s.) *Sonata.* For two Violins, Op. 56. By Sergey Prokofiev. (Boosey & Hawkes, 7s.) *Two Sonatinas*, Op. 54, and *Sonatine pastorale*, Op. 59 No. 3. For Piano. By Sergey Prokofiev. (Boosey & Hawkes, 5s., 5s. and 2s. 6d.) *Four Dance Episodes from 'Rodeo' & Statements.* For Orchestra. By Aaron Copland. Miniature Scores. (Boosey & Hawkes, 12s. and 6s.) *Old American Songs.* For Voice and Piano, 2nd set. By Aaron Copland. (Boosey & Hawkes, 4s. 6d.) *Trio*, Op. 10. For Clarinet, Cello and Piano. By Benjamin Frankel. (Augener, 12s. 6d.) *Kálló Folk Dances.* For Chorus and Orchestra. By Zoltán Kodály. Miniature Score. (Boosey & Hawkes, 6s.) *Cinq*

Chansons de femme. For Soprano and Harp (or Piano). By Philip Cannon. (Novello, Nos. 1, 3 and 4, 2s. 6d. each; Nos. 2 and 5, 3s. each.) *The Summer's Nightingale.* Cantata for Tenor, Women's Chorus and String Orchestra (or Piano). By David Cox. Vocal Score. (Oxford University Press, 4s. 6d.) *Fantaisie, Op. 22.* For Flute and Piano. By Julien-François Zbinden. (Breitkopf & Härtel; British and Continental Music Agencies.) *Capricci ritmici.* For Piano. By Hermann Heiss. (Breitkopf & Härtel; British and Continental Music Agencies.)

Many of the works from Boosey & Hawkes hardly qualify as new music. Weinberger's two tasteless and unoriginal pieces, with their syrupy "French" harmony, were old-fashioned even when first published, over thirty years ago. Stravinsky's gently sentimental score for 'The Fairy's Kiss' dates from 1928, with slight revisions in 1950. The Prokofiev works were written in 1932 and 1934, and represent a little-known phase of his work. The two-violin Sonata is difficult to judge from separate parts, without a score, but the piano Sonatinas are rather dull, tonally and harmonically inconsequential, wry without wit, dry without respectability, and sentimental without prettiness. The two Copland orchestral works, equally little-known in his country, are twelve and twenty years old respectively. They exemplify two extremes of his musical style. The 'Rodeo' episodes are based partly on American folksongs and popular in style, though with a good deal of unobtrusive ingenuity of rhythm and thematic development. 'Statements' is a set of six short pieces characterized respectively as Militant, Cryptic, Dogmatic, Subjective, Jingo and Prophetic. With the exception of 'Jingo' these are much more severe in style, though there is a hint of satire also in angular themes of 'Militant' and 'Dogmatic'. 'Cryptic' (without strings) and 'Subjective' (strings only) are more intimate and personal in tone, and 'Prophetic' shows a synthesis of the vehement and lyrical styles. Thematically striking, compactly worked out and cleanly orchestrated, these terse pieces have the look of music that we should be glad to hear. The 'Old American Songs' are more recent (1952). Although less boldly imaginative, especially in harmony, than Britten's folksong settings, they are similarly inventive in figuration and texture, and make attractive songs for concert use out of tunes that do not entirely avoid the commonplace.

Frankel's Trio, undated, also seems by its opus number to be an earlier work. It does not give the impression of one written under any great compulsion of musical ideas or of interest in the medium. The piano part, where not thin, is hollow, and the thematic material is waterily flavourless. The Kodály work is fairly recent, but to some extent repeats old successes (those of the well-known orchestral sets of dances), with perhaps some slight concession to People's Democratic official needs discernible in the nature of its choral and orchestral resources and its simplicity of style. The difficulty of fitting foreign words to Hungarian rhythms, which in the English Nancy Bush has not altogether successfully overcome, may be an impediment to this work's popularity outside Hungary.

Of the new works, Geoffrey Smith's 'Concertino' is an odd piece, in one formless movement, and as illogical in its progression of common

chords and simple harmonies as if the composer had written them down without the least idea of how they would sound. Philip Cannon's songs, though unadventurous in melodic or harmonic style, are competently and more than competently written, and no doubt make more effect with the harp than the piano. David Cox's cantata is similarly unchallenging, but his handling of his conservative vocabulary shows taste, invention and imagination that suggest a real composer. The fantasy by Zbinden, a virtuoso study for the flute (it was a test piece at the 1954 Geneva Competition), is also an excellent *concertante* piece of real substance, in several related sections admirably varied in rhythm and texture, with strong harmonies sonorously spaced, well constructed, tautly coherent and of satisfying dimensions within its six minutes' duration. Heiss's piano pieces are anything but capricious, their extreme rhythmic complexities (or, more exactly irregularities of accent) being most carefully calculated and contrived. Their content lies otherwise in figuration rather than in melody, and in the *ostinato*-like use of clumps of thick harmony rather than in harmonic development; but they are interesting to grapple with.

C. M.

Missa Sanctae Caeciliae. By Haydn. Vocal Score. (Universal Edition, 24s.) *A Parable of Death.* By Lukas Foss. Vocal Score. (Fischer, \$2.00.) *Echo.* For S.S.A. and Piano. By Ernest Bullock. (O.U.P., 9d.) *White Flowering Days.* For S.A.T.B. unaccompanied. By Gerald Finzi. (Boosey & Hawkes, 7d.) *Song of the Flea.* By Mussorgsky. Arranged for T.T.B.B. and Piano by Arnold Foster. (Chester.) *Four Partsongs.* For S.A.T.B. Unaccompanied. By Hans Gál. (Boosey & Hawkes.) *Hail the Day that sees Him rise.* For S.A.T.B. with dispensable organ. By John Gardner. (O.U.P., 1s. 4d.) *Pax Musica.* For Unaccompanied Double Choir. By Thomas Pitfield. (Augener, 1s. 6d.) *The Lyre of Orpheus.* For S.S.C. and Piano. By Lloyd Webber. (Elkin, 3s. 6d.)

Possessors of the recently published score of Haydn's Cecilia Mass should strike out the *staccato* dots from the fugue subjects at bars 167 ff. of the "Kyrie" and at bars 189 ff. and 732 ff. of the "Gloria". These small but important alterations are possible because two other sources for this work, of which almost all the autograph is lost, have been found since the Haydn Society published the score. Other differences in this practical edition are the writing out of the *appoggiature* and of the usual interpretation, which seems to bear Haydn's authority, of the repeated notes in the wonderful quasi-recitative at "Et incarnatus est". The Mass is a grand festival work of more than liturgical dimensions, though the proportions remain the same. The "Kyrie" is somewhat conventional, but in the "Gloria" the music unfolds into a thrilling spaciousness culminating in the grand passion of "Qui tollis". Among beauties of design and sound too numerous to mention is the original structure of the "Credo". In its first movement the choir enunciates the clauses in a robust and steadfast *forte*, to each of which the soprano adds a florid assenting "credo, credo". Much later the technique is suddenly and thrillingly renewed (the same phrase adapted now to triple time) to assent to the one holy, catholic and apostolic church. S.A.T.B. soloists are required. Fritz Steffin's arrangement of the accompaniment is a model.

While lying well under the fingers, it manages to give many details of the orchestration.

Lukas Foss employs a narrator, chorus, tenor solo and orchestra. The words of his fairly short piece are culled from a great diversity of Rilke's writings. The translation is an extraordinarily good fit both in sense and sound, so that a minimum of adjustment of the music is needed. One feels it could well have been written for either German or English. The harmony is strongly tonal, appropriately gaunt on occasion—unless the piano score misleads—but permitting some unusual and telling sonorities, all written considerably for the chorus and, more than that, displaying a continuous imagination that raises the piece well above the routine choral cantata. The writing for the tenor soloist is in an appealingly melismatic "baroque" style, not shunning melodies and even repeating them, a pleasant change from the oceans of mere declamation in which lyrical words too often drown.

A pen too often used on other tasks has written 'Echo' in some pages of deceptive-looking three-part chordal writing—deceptive in its simplicity, for when heard the partsong shows itself compact of sensitive harmony chastely and beautifully expressed.

Finzi's was one of the best of the offerings to the modern Oriana and now appears separately. Blunden sings "Now the white-flowering days, the long days of blue and golden light, wake nature's music round the land", and Finzi is the man to fit the words not only technically like a glove but in the mood, enlivened by some quintuple rhythm and surprising modulation, of mellowed rejoicing in "Old England of the Shires".

Hans Gal's four partsongs are graceful with a nice turn of harmonic fancy and many original touches especially in the spacing of the voices. They are 'Love will find out the Way' (anon., 17th century), 'An Epitaph' (Beattie), 'To Sleep' (Keats)—perhaps the most beautiful—and 'Phillida and Corydon' (Breton).

'The Lyre of Orpheus' is a set of four songs to words by May Sarson. They do not storm heavens or explore uncharted seas of harmony and mood; but they are considerably and smoothly written and contain much to interest a choir, nothing to discourage.

The organ part of John Gardner's new anthem is independent, but can be dispensed with. He has added to the traditional melodic and rhythmic vigour of the best Anglican festive pieces some conscious archaisms and some exhilarating modulations (notwithstanding the fact that they can fairly easily be sung, the organ is better here). There is incidentally one such modulation marked *fff* where most of the voices are curiously low. Perhaps the dynamic is like some in Sibelius's bassoon parts, signifying "do the best you can". It is a capital anthem for the better choir.

'Pax Musica' is a noble apostrophe of music in the composer's own words, bidding it be heard as concord's ambassador "where the embattled words of nations clamour in harsh antiphony". The musical moods for such a setting are obvious, but Thomas Pitfield's harmonies, though not extravagant, are by no means obvious, and he succeeds, where many fail, in reconciling such interest with ease of performance, given a fair-sized choir.

The male gusto of the 'Song of the Flea' seems certain to sweep all aside in Arnold Foster's telling arrangement.

I. K.

Septet (1953). By Igor Stravinsky. Miniature Score. (Boosey & Hawkes, 3s. 6d.) *Three Songs from Shakespeare*, for Mezzo-Soprano, Flute, Clarinet and Viola. By Stravinsky. Vocal Score. (Boosey & Hawkes 4s.) *Trio*, for Flute, Viola and Bassoon. By Malcolm Arnold. Score. (Paterson's, 6s.) *Sonata No. 2, Op. 94 bis*, for Violin (or Flute) and Piano. By Sergey Prokofiev. (Boosey & Hawkes, 15s.) *Three Pieces*, for Cor Anglais or Clarinet and Piano. By Alan Richardson. (Augener, 7s. 6d.)

Stravinsky's *Septet* is for clarinet, horn, bassoon, piano, violin, viola and violoncello, and is his first purely instrumental chamber work since 1938. It is a short piece and, to say the least, free from meretricious expressiveness, but it is an interesting essay in a technique of construction carried out, it need hardly be added, with the utmost efficiency and certainty. The contrapuntal material (there is next to no chordal writing) is derived almost entirely from the "first subject" of the first movement, which is unnamed in the score but has been called "*Sonata-Allegro*" because it briefly goes through the motions of the form. There is a notable increase in musical solidity in the second movement, a strict and well-sustained passacaglia in which instrumental colour comes into its own. Precisely the same succession of notes as forms the passacaglia bass is used as the subject of the ensuing gigue which, perhaps significantly, is not numbered in the score as a separate movement. The gigue is again constructed on tightly formal lines, its scheme reinforced by a tonality which, though attenuated, is perceptible. It follows Bach in having binary form and a fugal technique with an inversion of the subject at the beginning of the second part. Each half is however again divided into two, enabling first strings then piano-and-wind to have separate expositions. From time to time in this movement the composer has printed the "rows" from which the several instruments' parts are drawn for the time being. This does not of course indicate any acceptance of what is usually regarded, despite Schoenberg's protests, as the atonal dogma. There are, for a start, only eight notes in the "row" for a sixteen-note subject. What is really interesting is to observe the extent to which a "tonal" composer can adhere (while allowing himself divergences) to a serial method of composition, *i.e.* one in which the chosen notes normally succeed one another in the same order, with, as in Schoenberg, octave displacement and inversions of intervals playing as prominent a part as desired.

The same technique, again with plentiful repetitions of notes, can be observed in the first two of the Shakespeare songs, also of 1953. Here, however, the result is all too often a monstrously ungrateful vocal line from which the singer can obtain little satisfaction beyond the *cachet* of singing Stravinsky.

Prokofiev's *Sonata, Op. 94*, in D major, was originally composed for flute. In the present version it has a violin part revised by the composer in collaboration with David Oistrakh. It is one of his most charming works. The first movement has *insouciant* themes, march-like as ever, couched in a simple sonata form without tears. There are one or two places where one feels that the adaptation of the flute's figuration could have been more considerate. The other three movements, of which the scherzo is the best, all have "popular" tunes, coming near bathos at

times, but they all show constant artifice in spacing of chords and variations of rhythm.

The *allegro* movements of Arnold's Trio show him, if possible, in an even more unbuttoned mood than in other chamber works. There are outrageously delightful tunes and, in the first movement, unabashed modulations by dominant sevenths. Between them the *andante* strikes a plaintive note (or more often two notes a semi-tone apart). The Trio offers twelve minutes of the charming mixture of ebullience and sophistication that Arnold has made his own. It is fairly difficult but superbly written for the instruments.

In gentler accents but with the same flair for instrumental writing Alan Richardson offers a 'Prelude', 'Elegy' and 'Alla burlesca'. The parts for the alternative instruments have several telling alterations other than those necessitated by their compass, so that neither player need feel he is playing as a second-best. The 'Elegy' in particular has a warmly romantic atmosphere.

I. K.

Vocalises and Exercises, K.393. For Soprano. By Mozart. Edited by Maurice Weynandt. (Leduc; obtainable through United Music Publishers.) *The Second Lute Song (from 'Gloriana')*. By Benjamin Britten. (Boosey & Hawkes, 2s. 6d.) *Come Away, Death and O Mistress mine*. By Gerald Finzi. (Boosey & Hawkes, 2s. 6d. each.) *Spring and Echo's Song*. By Ned Rorem. (Boosey & Hawkes, 2s. 6d. each.) *Dirge and The Mountebank's Song*. By Peter Wishart. (O.U.P., together 3s. 6d.)

Mozart's pieces were written for his wife in the early years of their marriage. Of the four vocalises, Nos. 2, 3 and 4 were published in the complete edition; the manuscript of the first is lost, but a facsimile of its first page exists, partly reproduced here from a supplement to the review 'France Musicale' of 1841. It shows clearly the exposition of a sonata-form aria with a second-time bar in which the music diverges to E \flat major from the C major—G major of the opening. The completion of this spirited piece was Professor Weynandt's main task, but he has floundered badly in what should have been a stimulating if exacting exercise in composition. The "development" section is passable—who after all could predict Mozart's thoughts at this of all places?—but there is a careless pair of octaves between tune and bass just before the return. This recapitulation section, however, seems quite to misconceive Mozart's formal habits. The music as here reconstructed is not only physically much shorter than the exposition but does not even use its most striking melodic phrase, being seemingly concerned only to take the shortest possible cut to the final tonic. The fourth vocalise shows how it can be done, with a marvellously neat transition from the first to the second paragraphs of the recapitulation and a constant enhancement, by delightful variation, of those parts of the structure which do not "need" it. Both this piece and the *Adagio* in F major (No. 2), which is the melody of "Christe Eleison" in the C minor Mass, are most beautiful ones, which if not sung would make admirable pieces for, say, oboe, clarinet or muted violin. Our casual and conditioned glances would at first sight regard these songs without words as instrumental pieces, whereas there

could hardly be a more convincing demonstration than they afford of the operatic vocal basis of Mozart's style.

Gerald Finzi's two songs are from the set of five Shakespeare songs entitled 'Let us Garlands Bring'. They are for medium voice, one lugubrious, the other winsome, with a seemingly effortless matching of mood and words which makes them a pleasure to sing. On the other hand Ned Rorem's marked tendency to disjunct motion means that his songs, though not difficult, do not sing themselves. But being thus saved from superficial performance they should make a decidedly individual effect, particularly in the subtle melancholy harmonies of 'Echo's Song' (Jonson's "Slow, slow, fresh fount"). 'Spring' has climactic A's, but 'Echo's Song' is again of medium range.

In Shakespeare's 'Fear no more the heat of the sun' Peter Wishart employs Elizabethan free rhythms and cadential tags over harmony more chromatic but less dissonant than that of Tallis. Do these words suggest mere pastiche? This would unjustly overlook a subtle individuality which eludes analysis. The song makes a good pair with 'The Mountebank's Song', whose anonymous quick catalogue of curable ills is set to taking melody and rhythms. A tenor voice is required. The songs are part of a cycle of seven, the rest of which can be hired, the accompaniments being alternatively for small orchestra (flute, clarinet, bassoon, harp and strings) or piano.

Essex's song "Happy were he could finish forth his fate" makes an impressive declamatory piece well worth detaching from 'Gloriana'. There is hardly a phrase of it which does not suggest an exemplar and yet it is a whole which shows again Britten's unique poignancy and immediacy of effect. Imogen Holst's arrangement of the accompaniment is very skilful.

I. K.

Concerto in C major and *Concerto in C minor*. By Bach. Edited by Adam Carse for Two Pianos. (Augener, 10s. each.) *Concerto*. For Piano and Orchestra. By Alexei Haieff. Reduction for Two Pianos. (Boosey & Hawkes, 17s. 6d.) *Concerto in F major*. For Violin and Piano (Cembalo). By Haydn. Edited by Paul Borman. Solo parts with extra continuo part. (Boosey & Hawkes, 9s.)

Both the two-keyboard concertos by Bach—one may disregard the arrangement of the double-violin concerto—are so scored as to lend themselves to the makeshift of performance without accompaniment, and Adam Carse has followed the usual practice in printing only the solo parts. Few will quarrel with him for inserting fewer phrase-marks and dynamics than are usually found, *mp* and *mf* being conspicuously absent. In the slow movement of the C major there are several dotted minims where a trill must surely be suggested, but one's only quarrel with the phrasing is in the fugue subject, where the eight successive quavers seem to cry out for a vigorous *staccato*, not a chopped-up *legato*. When the C minor is played with orchestra there is much to be said for the first player taking his right hand up an octave in those frequent *ritornelli* where he otherwise plays in unison with the first violins.

Haydn's double Concerto is sufficiently described by Geiringer as "an unassuming work". Haydn's best friends could hardly rate it

higher. But it has decorative charms, particularly in the slow movement in which the easy-going structure is covered with arabesques, and the last has touches of a characteristic irregularity of rhythm. The two soloists were originally intended to play throughout, the one leading the *tutti* passages and the other supplying their *continuo*. The solo parts of this edition can either be used for this purpose or for a performance without accompaniment. On the other hand another keyboard part is supplied containing an arrangement of the *tutti* and a *continuo* part for the solo sections, so that the two soloists can have their periods of modern inaction.

Despite its bright vigorous rhythms and transparent texture Haieff's Concerto is somewhat superficial and, ultimately, tedious in effect. Its basic components, chopped-up syncopated phrases in alternation with sequences and canons, are worked very hard, and one feels the lack of a more lyrical aspect particularly as apart from a rhetorical *andante* at the beginning of the third movement there is nothing in the way of slow movement. There is much of real interest in the first movement, but the subsequent, substantial quotations and near-quotations between movements press unity too far.

I. K.

Das Erbe deutscher Musik (Abteilung Sonderreihe), Vol. I: Christoph Demantius, 'Neue teutsche weltliche Lieder 1595; Convivialium Concentuum Farrago 1609'. Edited by Kurt Stangl. (Hinnenthal-Verlag, Cassel, 1953.)

Dr. Stangl's editions of these two little-known song-books by Demantius were completed in 1939, and they are at last published in a fitting form and series. Hitherto no secular vocal music by Demantius has been easily available, though his remarkable essay in programme music, 'Tympanum militare . . .' (1600) and his delightful suites of dances 'Convivialium deliciae' (1608) and 'Fasciculus chorodiarum' (1613) have long been known to students of early German baroque music. Demantius, in spite of being a native of Reichenberg in Bohemia, showed few traces of local style in his secular works. Together with Melchior Franck, Valentin Haussmann and Johann Staden he was a follower of the new German style of madrigal composition which owed its inspiration to Hans Leo Hassler.

The first of the two books consists of twenty-seven partsongs for five voices, based exclusively on German texts whose level of poetic interest is roughly on a par with that of the nearly contemporary English madrigal verse. The sub-title of the 1595 set shows how strongly the German school felt about instrumental participation in songs of this kind: "mit fünff Stimmen/welche nicht allein zu singen/Sondern auch auff allerley Instrumenten zugebrauchen/gantz lieblich". The contrapuntal interest, though not high, reveals a competent and occasionally really skilful hand, and there is a genuine feeling for vocal sonority and practical text-underlay. Repetitions of words and phrases not in the original are shown by italic type, and the only bar-lines present are those known as *Mensurstrich*, that is, drawn between the staves and not through them, so that the flow of the individual voice-parts shall not be disturbed. Normal bar-lines are used in the edition of the 1609 collection, where the more strictly metrical canzonets and villanellas enable the editor to disregard to a certain extent the limited interest of the part-writing.

Once again, however, Demantius shows a skilled touch in his treatment of the vocal—and, by implication, instrumental—forces at his disposal. There is plentiful contrast between high and low groups of voices, the six individual parts being split up and combined in an endless variety of ways. Several of the songs are grouped together in a sequence of four (like many Italian madrigals of the time) and among these the cycle beginning with 'Frisch auff ohn alles zagen' is perhaps the most successful.

The last three items are all for double choir of eight voices, recalling some of Hassler's captivating essays in this medium—his brilliant and amusing 'Mein Lieb will mit mir kriegen', for example. Demantius gives us two examples of a dialogue: a courting-song, 'Jungfraw ich het ein Bitt an euch', in which the shorter, slighter phrases of the second choir echo the more masculine utterances of the first choir; and a pseudo-classical conversation (in Latin) between a shepherd and his nymph. The cleverest of the eight-part pieces is undoubtedly the 'Echo' composed for the marriage festivities of a friend of the composer. The text, as well as the music, echoes each phrase, often with charming effect:

Campos adeamus	Eamus
Tubera nostra premas	Ubera nostra premas
Conveniunt?	Veniunt

a technique which reminds us of the echo-song 'Bergier de ville champestre' by the trouvère Robert de Rains.

On the whole Dr. Stangl's editing is careful and thorough; but he is sometimes led astray by the wayward tricks of notating accidentals, which (as anyone familiar with early printed music knows) are most reluctant to follow rules of any kind. Some kind of standardization should therefore be sought after, so that an accidental appearing at the beginning of a bar is cancelled when it reappears (p. 31, bar 10, *bassus*; p. 36, bar 23, *quintus*). Not even the emotional implications of the word "Bitterkeit" will convince me that, in this last example, the F♯ should go uncanceled on its second appearance. In other cases modern usage is implied, with the accidentalism lasting throughout the bar (p. 115, bar 124, 1st tenor of choir 2). Apart from this slight blemish the edition is excellent and extremely practical.

D. S.

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CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'

ETON MANUSCRIPT

Sir,

Mr. Erlebach's comments (p. 306, October issue) on my review of the two Eton motets are somewhat misleading. At no point in the review do I give "rules" for partial signatures: I mentioned the "inherent logic" in the signatures at the beginning of Browne's 'O Maria salvatoris Mater'. If correctly followed in the transcription—which was not the case in Mr. Erlebach's version—these key-signatures would have taken adequate care of the constantly shifting tonal centres which are entirely typical of the early Tudor school, and indeed of their Franco-Flemish contemporaries. I am quite aware that these signatures change during the course of the motet; indeed, I pointed out that these changes "which are full of significance not only for scholars but for performers also—are neither shown nor even hinted at in this edition, where the key-signatures are bludgeoned into an ostensibly neat though musically inaccurate uniformity".

By failing to enumerate and indicate these changes, Mr. Erlebach is guilty of the dogmatism which (in his own words) "really great scholars hesitate" to embrace. We all know that questions of *musica ficta* and partial signatures are extremely controversial, and it is because of this that we expect, in a supposedly scholarly edition, the normal superscript *ficta* signs. By pushing these signs into the staves the public is automatically excluded from the controversy: there is nothing to be done but to accept the dogma or catch the next train to Eton.

Regarding the topsy-turvy bass parts, Mr. Erlebach should realize that whatever the nomenclature of the voice-parts, the final chord should present them in their proper order—the lowest note at the bottom of the score, and the highest at the top. Not only do his Primus Bassus and Secundus Bassus need reversing; Inferior Contratenor and Tenor should likewise change places. The crossing of parts in the Oxford manuscript has nothing at all to do with the question: when a Burgundian contratenor leapt up an octave at a final cadence (Besseler's *Oktavsprungkadenz*) it did so in order to avoid fifths with the tenor. This phenomenon had died out long before the Eton manuscript was even thought of.

London,

DENIS STEVENS.

26 September 1954.

Sir,

For the purpose of preparing a new edition of J. S. Bach's church cantata No. 145, we are anxious to trace a manuscript listed under the title of 'Ich lebe, mein Herze' in Vol. III, iii, p. xii, of the Bachgesellschaft edition, with no indication of its location. So far we have been unable to discover the whereabouts of this manuscript, which we urgently require in order to establish the authentic version of the cantata. Any information concerning it will be most gratefully received by the Joann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut (Dr. Alfred Dürr), Kurze Geismarstrasse 40, Göttingen.

ALFRED DÜRR.

MOZART AND THE FLUTE

Sir,

In her learned article entitled 'Mozart and the Flute' in the October 1954 issue of 'Music & Letters', Miss Martha Kingdon Ward commented on the lonely and "lost" sound of the flute in solo passages with orchestra. She attributed this effect to "the lack of lower partials" in the flute's tone. Now the characteristic of the flute which distinguishes it from other woodwind instruments is, on the contrary, the strength of its first, second and fourth partials (*i.e.* the note played, the octave and the double octave) and the weakness of its upper and dissonant partials. This is the reason for the purity of the flute's tone in contrast with that of the oboe, whose strength is concentrated in the fourth and fifth partials, and the clarinet, whose strongest partials are the eighth and ninth. It is therefore impossible to explain the effect of isolation associated with a flute playing in the orchestra by the physical make-up of its tone; for the partials that are strongest in the flute's tone are lower, and therefore nearer to the general orchestral pitch, than those that are strongest in, for example, the oboe.

I would suggest that the effect described by Miss Kingdon Ward bears a psychological and not a physical explanation. The softness of the flute's tone and the very poverty in high partials that I have mentioned have led composers, especially in the past, to write very light orchestral accompaniments for their flute solos and to take care to leave a wide interval of pitch between the flute and the next highest instrument. The skill of modern orchestrators in bringing out the exotic low notes of the flute, even with other instruments playing above, was unknown to and undesired by Mozart, whose use of it as a solo instrument exploited only its power of delivering a simple melody. His masterly judgment of orchestration nearly always led him to accompany his flute solos with strings alone, playing softly, in low pitch and with the lightest of textures. Naturally the effect on the listener is of an isolated flute left out in the cold.

NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY.

Cambridge,
23 October 1954.



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